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ABANINDRANATH TAGORE
STELLA KRAMRISCH
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CONTENTS

1944

Moti Chandra

✓ The History of Indian Costume
from the 3rd to the End of the
7th Century A. D. ...

1 ✓

Bishnu Dey and John Irwin

Jamini Roy ...

98

Jitendra nath Banerjea

Images of Sāmba ...

129

Shri Svami Hariharanand

Viṣṇu, The All Pervading

Sarasvati

Principle ...

135

St. Kramrisch

The Superstructure of the Hindu

Temple ...

175

REVIEWS: 1 X

Sir John Marshall, A. Foucher,

The Monuments of Sanchi

N. G. Mazumdar,

(P. Brown) ...

208

Percy Brown

Indian Architecture (Buddhist and
Hindu) (St. Kramrisch) ...

211

012

THE HISTORY OF INDIAN COSTUME FROM THE 3RD CENTURY A.D. TO THE END OF THE 7TH CENTURY A.D.

By MOTI CHANDRA

I.

"In the life of a man the first and foremost are food and clothing. To man these two are fetters and chains which bind him to the field of rebirth."¹

The period before the advent of the Guptas covers roughly the history of India from the date of the extinction of the Imperial Kuṣāṇas and the emergence and consolidation of the power of the Yaudheyas in eastern Pañjāb and Rājputānā, the Nāgas of Pawāya, the Bhāraśivas and the Maghas, etc., who dominated the scene for a considerable time till the rise of the Gupta empire.

The material for the study of Indian costume in this period of disintegration is small as few monuments with the sumptuous reliefs of the Sāñcī and Amarāvati type datable to this period have survived. The so-called Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā could be helpful for a study of the culture of this period, but the nomenclature Kuṣāṇa applied to these sculptures is inaccurate as it vaguely refers to a period which lasted for more than two hundred years. The period of the early Kuṣāṇas was no doubt rich in artistic efforts, but there is no reason to believe that art did not flourish in the interregnum after the break-up of the Kuṣāṇa power and the rise of the Guptas. The matter as it stands, however, compels us for the sake of accuracy to exclude

1. I-tsing. Tr. Takakasu, p. 72.

the bulk of the so-called Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā from the scope of our discussion in the present paper.

In the Telugu country in the south, however, the 3rd century reliefs from the stūpa at the village Goli in Pālnad Tāluk, Guṇṭūr district, have survived. These reliefs are important documents for the study of Indian costume, though it may be admitted that the costumes in the south had not undergone any considerable change since the earlier days of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The naturalistic treatment of the Goli reliefs stands in direct contrast with the Pallava reliefs of the Tāmil land in so far as the latter are rather conventional in the treatment of drapery; hence their utility in the history of costume in Southern India is of doubtful value. The reliefs from Pawāya in Gwālior State, from the stylistic point of view, could be compared with the later reliefs of the Amarāvati stūpa and also the 3rd century reliefs of Goli. The representations of the costume in these reliefs give details of certain local variations which have been recorded in this article.

The most interesting period from the point of the history of Indian costume, however, is the Gupta period. There is ample material in the form of sculptures from Sārnāth, Deogaṛh, Gwālior, Maṇḍor, etc., and the Ajaṇṭā paintings, especially of Cave XVII, though strictly speaking Ajaṇṭā lay in the domains of the Vākāṭakas and hence the appellation Gupta may not be very happy. These, together with the sculptures and terracottas give us a tolerably good picture of Indian costumes and textile materials roughly from the end of the 3rd century to the end of the Seventh.

The Gupta dynasty was founded by Candragupta I (320-335 A.D.), but it was strengthened by Samudragupta (335-385 A.D.), one of the ablest and most versatile rulers India has ever known. Besides his many conquests, with which we are not concerned, he was a man of literary taste and a poet and musician. His son and successor was Candragupta Vikramāditya (385-413 A.D.) who conquered the Western Satraps between 395 and 400 A.D. The Gupta state consolidated by Samudragupta by his conquests became highly organised, as the Gupta seals from Basāṛh and Rājghāt show. Kumāragupta's period (414-455 A.D.) was marked by the gradual decadence of the empire which closed one of the glorious chapters of Indian history after the terrific

onslaught of the Hūṇas in the time of Skandagupta (455-470 A.D.). From his Bhitari inscription it is evident that by his military achievements against the Hūṇas (about 455 A.D.) Skandagupta was able to save the empire temporarily. With his death, however, the glories of the dynasty came to an end. After Skandagupta a number of Gupta princes are known from the coins and inscriptions, whose contributions from the historical point of view are not much. According to Yuan Chwang the Hūṇas, who seemed to have established a temporary sway over the Gupta domain, were defeated by Bālāditya. This achievement is also claimed by Yaśodharman, a powerful king in an inscription dated 533 to 534 A.D.

From the cultural point of view the age of the Guptas is rightly regarded as the golden age of Indian history.

The Guptas were worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu and the ancient Vedic religion was revived; but Buddhism received equal recognition.

The period of Śrī Harṣa should also be included in the cultural history of the Gupta period. In this period Bāṇa, Yuan Chwang and other writers throw considerable light on certain aspects of Indian culture which are not mentioned in the works of Kālidāsa, the greatest poet of the Gupta age.

It is not only in the political, religious and artistic sphere that the Gupta age excelled, but material culture also attained a high level. This may be gathered from the works of Kālidāsa, the paintings of Ajaṇṭā and other archaeological remains. In the dazzling harem scenes at Ajaṇṭā even the smallest details of the equipment of the ancient Indian palaces are shown. The noble figure of the king simply but elegantly dressed, the voluptuous female attendants serving the king in accordance with the strict royal etiquette, the more discretely dressed dancers and musicians, the elegant royal processions accompanied by a body of well-equipped troops, all these aspects of kingly life show the achievements of the Gupta age in the sphere of material culture. The fashions in hair-dressing, costumes, and ornaments are different from the somewhat barbaric fashions in the preceding centuries. The women in this period do not follow the old style of wearing their hair in plaits; the hair is dressed in almost limitless varieties, in which the hands of expert hairdressers are visible. In the mode

of wearing the 'dhoti' or 'sāri' the artistic arrangements of pleats and folds prove that the wearers were not unaware of the aesthetics of dressing. Such was the importance of dressing properly that the act is indicated by five words in Sanskrit, namely, 'ākālpa, veśa, nepathya, pratikarma' and 'prasādhana.' Also in textile designs the Gupta period had achieved much as is evidenced by the literary references and the designs on the clothings in the Ajaṇṭā paintings, to be described later on.

For the study of Indian costume in the Gupta period, besides sculptures and paintings in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā, we have a large number of coins portraying the Gupta kings. A very significant fact in the costume of the kings is that they wear tunics, trousers and coats, after the fashion of the Kuṣāṇa kings, though they also appear in purely national costume. It shows that they had adopted both types of costume in the same way as a westernised Indian of to-day goes to attend office or a social function in European dress for the sake of convenience, while at home he wears his own costume. This is true not only in the case of Indians but other Asiatics as well. The convenience and also the elegant cut of sewn garments must have appealed to the highly artistic, but at the same time practical, Guptas. Commonsense in the sphere of dress is also evident in the change from thick woollen or padded materials of the Kuṣāṇa costumes to thin and at times diaphanous materials which suited very well the climatic conditions of the country. The coarseness, the heavy and barbaric cut of the Kuṣāṇa garments gave way to elegance and finish.

The foreign elements in the matter of sewn garments were quickly assimilated and the emerging garments were truly Indian in form. For example, as evident from the Kuṣāṇa sculptures and coins, the kings wore very heavy top-boots, very ugly in appearance but very convenient for a cold climate, and specially useful when riding horses. In the Gupta period the top-boots lose their heaviness and are reduced to the shape of modern riding boots.

The introduction of sewn garments in India on an extensive scale—though it must be admitted that the Indians knew of sewn garments from very early times—influenced to a certain extent the costumes of those who

came in intimate contact with the court. The first to be affected were the servants, both male and female. Their well-cut tunics, and at times shorts, show the royal taste in the livery of personal servants. It has been often argued that perhaps many of the servants wearing sewn garments were 'foreigners' in the employment of the Indian kings. This is true in the case of a minority; the majority of them were definitely Indians. The descriptions of servants, maid-servants, etc., by Bāṇabhaṭṭa—in his works discussed elsewhere—prove it.

The import of female slaves from foreign countries was a practice which existed much before the advent of the Gupta power in India. It is mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (circa 1st century A. D.) that among the costly imports from the foreign countries at Barygaza (ancient Bharukacchā or modern Broach) for the use of the kings were costly vessels of silver, singing boys and beautiful maidens for the harem.¹ The practice of importing foreign slaves is corroborated by Jain sources which can be dated before the Gupta period. A list of the foreign slaves is given in the 'Antagaḍadasāo'.² The story says that in his boyhood Prince Goyame was attended by female slaves of various nationalities—Babbara³, Pausaya (Bausi)⁴, Greeks (Joṇiya), Palhaviya (Parthians), Iṣṇiya (Isini), Dhoruṇigini, Lāsiya, Lausiya, Dravidian (Damidi), Sinhalese (Sinhali), Arabi (Arab), Pulinda, Pakkaṇi⁵, Bahali (Bactrian), Muraṇḍi (Murunda), Sabara and Persians (Pārasihī). These women of diverse lands were in foreign garbs ('videsa-parimaṇḍiyāhi') with raiments taken from their own countries' fashions ('sadesa-nevatthagahiya-vesāhi'), understanding from gesture what was thought and

1. Schoff, 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' p. 49.

2. Tr. by L.D. Barnett, London, 1907, pp. 28-29. The list is repeated in the *Nāyādhamma-Kaṇḍo*, 1. 20.

3. It is difficult to identify all the countries in the above list. The Babbara land probably indicated North Africa and is mentioned by the *Periplus* whose Berbers probably included the ancestors of the Bejas between the Nile and the Red Sea, the Danakils between the Upper Nile, Abyssinia and the Gulf of Aden and the Somalis and Gallas (Schoff, loc. cit. pp. 5, 6). According to the 'Periplus' slaves were often exported from the Berber country (ib., p. 25).

4. Pausaya or Vausaya may be the slaves from the Oxus countries.

5. The Pakkaṇa may be identified with the Prakanva mentioned as a counter example to Prakanva in *Plāṇini* (VI, 1, 153) and is stated by 'Kāśikā' to be the name of a country. Dr. Vasudeva Saran (J. U. H. S., Vol. XVI. P. I, p. 28) suggests its identification with the people mentioned by Herodotus as Parikantoi, i.e., the inhabitants of modern Ferghana (Sten Konow, 'Corpus of Kharosthi Inscriptions', p. XVIII).

desired of them ('in̐giya-c̐ntiya-patthiya-viyaniyāhi'). They were skilful, accomplished and, well-trained ('vin̐yāhi')¹. This description of the foreign female slaves shows them in Indian harems in the early centuries of the Christian era. There is no reason to believe that in the Gupta age things were different, and though there is no mention of as many geographical designations of the slaves as in the 'Antagaḍa' and 'Nayādhammakahāo', Yavanis as personal attendants of the kings in Kālidāsa's dramas are frequently mentioned. Perhaps the term Yavana in this age had lost its original significance and was used to designate all foreigners.

The influence of the costumes of these slaves in dictating the fashions of the period must have been considerable, at least on the costumes of the servant class, and the paintings of Ajaṇṭā testify to it. But it would be wrong to say that the foreign costumes were introduced to this country through slaves only. As a matter of fact military invasion and consequent occupation of a considerable part of the country by the Sakas and the Kuṣāṇas as well as commercial intercourse which necessitated the visits of foreign merchants to India and the greater influx of Buddhist pilgrims from Central Asia and the borderlands must have to some extent exercised an influence on the evolution of foreign types in the costumes of India. To such foreign influences, probably of the Sakas, are due the hemispherical and cone-shaped caps with streamers, tunics with V-shaped openings at the neck and full riding boots. The story of this invasion of foreign elements into Indian costume may be read in the wall paintings of Ajaṇṭā, in which we actually see the process of Indianisation in the shapes and colours of the foreign costumes. Eclecticism in the Gupta age was not confined to art and religion only ; it also extended to costume.

This predilection for foreign types in the Gupta age stands comparison with the change of Indian costume in the Mughal period. The Mughals, the inhabitants of Central Asia, brought their own costume, which in the course of time adapted itself to Indian conditions and became the standard costume of the period, both of the State servants, officers, grandees, and also of the inhabitants of the cities, such as

1. 'Antagaḍa', p. 29, and 'Nāyā', 1, 20.

bankers, merchants and the shopkeepers. 'Jāmah', trousers, turban and 'kamarband' became articles of universal wear irrespective of caste or creed. In the Kuṣāṇa period an analogous process of transformation of the costume was taking place, though on a much lesser scale, with the king setting the example to his Indian followers. Complete transformation could not be achieved, for at that time there was no enforcement of a standard uniform, and also because of the natural apathy of the vast majority of Indians to innovations as far as food and costume are concerned. The Guptas who inherited the cultural legacy of the Kuṣāṇas saw the practical and aesthetic value of the Kuṣāṇa costume, and adopted it with certain changes. There was, however, no question of compulsion, and hence the foreign types were only confined to those who liked them. The vast majority of the people continued to wear their ancient garments, cool and comfortable for a hot climate.

Another very interesting point with regard to the costume of the Gupta period is the uniform of the soldiers. At Ajaṇṭā one section of the soldiers goes in 'dhoti', but the soldiers of other sections wear tunics, trousers or shorts, top-boots, and their hair is held together with ribbons and scarves—a very convenient military uniform. In the centuries preceding the Gupta age, except occasionally, in the Sātavāhana age, there was no fixed uniform for the army, the overwhelming majority of the soldiers going in 'dhoti'. The introduction of a military uniform in the Gupta period seems to have been based on the Kuṣāṇa prototype. The Guptas were great fighters and for their conquests they had to depend on an efficiently trained army, well clad and well equipped. The practical utility of the new uniform must have appealed to their commonsense and hence the emergence of a smartly turned out national army. This change as already mentioned might have been effected in the model organisation and equipment of the Kuṣāṇa army which held its sway practically over the whole Pañjāb and U.P., or it might have been due to the practical lessons learnt in campaigning against the Hūṇas. It is however difficult to be definite on this point.

Coming to history again, an important dynasty contemporary with the Guptas was that of the Vākāṭakas. In the first half of the fifth century the Vākāṭaka kingdom lying between the Gupta empire and the kingdom of the south had become the dominant power in the Deccan.

The Vākāṭakas in their time became the intermediaries of Northern Indian culture and the South. The dynasty disappeared in the middle of the sixth century. The presence of Vākāṭaka inscriptions at Ajanṭā is an important factor in the chronology of Indian art. The history of the Deccan costume could be traced from these cave paintings, and when compared with the Gupta costume in the north as depicted in the sculptured reliefs and coins leads us to believe that the standard Gupta costume had penetrated to the Deccan, and except for a few local variations it was the same all over India.

The rapid collapse of the Hūṇas in Northern India and the failure of the Gupta power to re-establish its former glories permitted the appearance of a number of new dynasties, including those of Valabhī, the Cālukyas, the Maukhāris, the later Guptas and especially the Vardhanas of Thāneśvar, destined to play an important part in history. The most glorious period in the 7th century is that of Śrī Harṣa (605-647 A. D.), who was a great administrator, a man of culture and the author of several Sanskrit dramas; at his court flourished Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, the king's biographer. Harṣa's great contemporary was Pulakeśin II to whose period may be assigned Caves I and II of Ajanṭā. To the same period belong the wall paintings at Bagh in Gwalior State. These paintings are a treasure house of the manners and customs of 7th century India.

The visits of Yuan Chwang and I-tsing also supply us with ample sociological information about India of the 7th century. The Chinese pilgrims have invariably given some description of the costumes of the people. Together with the literary information to be had from the works of Bāṇa a fairly satisfactory picture of the costumes and manners of the people of the 7th century could be drawn. An unexpected source of information is available in the Bhāṣyas and the commentaries of certain Jain 'Cheda-sūtras', the most notable being the 'Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya.' The nature of the information is so interesting that it has been recorded in a separate section.

It is one of the perquisites of fashionable society that its members should be well dressed, and for that, rich and artistic materials, printed, painted, coloured, richly patterned and of fine texture are always in great demand. Both the ladies and gentlemen belonging to Gupta society used the finest materials for their clothing. The art of calico printing seems

to have received a great impetus ; the chequers, stripes, and swans, etc., which are the most favourite patterns in the Gupta age, later on became traditional patterns of the calico printers.

That there was a great improvement in the textile craft and silk weaving in the Gupta period is evident from their descriptions in the 'Amarakoṣa.' here are stray references to textile materials in the literature of the period, and somewhat conventional descriptions are found in the travel accounts of the Chinese pilgrims. To get an adequate idea of the textile materials of that period all the information from the travel books, literature, dictionaries, etc., however scrappy they may be, have to be put together.

Unfortunately there are few Sanskrit works which give us a correct appraisal of the social conditions under which the people lived, what they ate, how they dressed and how they amused themselves. For such information one has to depend entirely on occasional references, which are often scrappy and conventional in treatment. On the 7th century costumes, however, the works of Bāṇa throw full light. Nothing escaped his penetrating eyes and so developed was his descriptive power that it did not overlook even the minutest details. The lexicons, especially the 'Amarakoṣa,' are also important for the study of costume and textile materials in the Gupta age.

The 'Amarakoṣa' contains certain interesting information about the costume and the textile materials of the Gupta age, though the terms are not always clearly explained and the commentaries are also far from illuminating. According to Amarasimha the textile materials are divided in the following four classes : (1) 'Valka' (made from bark fibres), which includes 'Kṣauma', etc.¹ ; (2) 'Phāla' (made from fibrous fruits) and which includes cotton and plants of the same order ; (3) 'Kauśeya' (silk), and (4) 'Rāṅkava' (made from the hair of a goat). Rāṅkava needs some explanation. The word formed from the noun 'raṅku' is usually explained by the commentators as a kind of woollen cloth manufactured from the hair of the 'raṅku' deer or some other species of wild animal. The lexicographers and the commentators were not at all sure about

1. *Amara*, II, 6. 111.

the origin of the word. There is, however, a natural explanation for the 'rāṅkava' variety of woollen cloth. There is a species of goat called 'rang' which flourishes in the steppes of the high Pāmīr plateau. It affords a very fine shawl-wool¹. This 'rang' goat is probably the same as the 'raṅku' of Sanskrit literature about whose exact counterpart in the animal kingdom the lexicographers are not sure. If the proposed identification of 'raṅku' with 'rang' goat be correct then the 'Rāṅkava' would mean a fine variety of 'pashmīna' cloth probably manufactured in the Pāmīr region. As mentioned in the Mahābhārata, felts² were also manufactured from the fine wool of the 'raṅku' goat.

After this classification the 'Amarakoṣa' describes the various stages in the manufacture of cloth right from the loom to the finishing and calendering stages. For the cloth fresh from the loom the following words have been used : 'anāhata' (uncalendered), 'niṣpravāṇi' (fresh from the loom), 'tantraka' (woven on the loom) and 'navāmbara'³. After the cloth was bleached it was known as 'udgamaṇīya'⁴.

In the 'Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya' (III, 2996) the following is the process in preparing the cotton for spinning. The 'seḍuga' cotton after the seeds were removed was carded (piñjitaṃ) and from the clean cotton spools (pelu) were prepared for spinning.

The process of washing clothes is described in the 'Nāyādhārmika kahāo' (III, 60). First the cloth was put into a solution of soda ('vattham sajjīyā-khāreṇam anulimpai'), then boiled and finally washed with fresh water. An analogous process in washing clothes is still maintained by the 'dhobīs', though soap is gradually replacing the crude soda as washing medium.

One of the varieties of silk is called 'patroṇa' in the 'Amarakoṣa'. Perhaps it was some kind of wild silk. Kṣīrasvāmī, a commentator of the 'Amarakoṣa'⁵ calls it silk spun by the insects feeding on the leaves

1. Wood, 'A Journey to Oxus,' New Ed., 1872, 'Introductory Essay' by Yule, p. LVII, see also 'Bhāratīya Vidyā', Vol. I, 1, p. 46, fn. 1.

2. 'Rāṅkava-kata, III, 225, 9, BORI ed.

3. 'Ak.', II, 6. 112.

4. Ib.

5. Amarakoṣa, ed. by Dr. Haradatta, p. 157.

of banyan and 'lakuca' (a kind of bread or fruit tree, 'Artocarpus lakucha'). Costly bleached silk is known as 'mahādhana'.

While talking of silk one should not forget to mention the varieties of silk technically called 'kīḍaya' by Devardhigaṇi who lived in the middle of the fifth century². Under the heading 'kīḍaya' or silk-worm products he mentions the following varieties: 'malaya', 'amśuka', 'cīnāmśuka' and 'kṛmirāga'. The above varieties and some more are explained in the 'Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya'. 'Paṭṭa' according to the commentary of the above 'Bhāṣya' was woven from the 'paṭṭa' yarn, presupposing thereby that 'paṭṭa' was a certain kind of silk yarn³. 'Amśuka' is explained in the commentary as smooth and shining silk ('slakṣṇapaṭṭaḥ') and 'Cīnāmśuka' was either cocoon silk ('kośikārākhyah-kṛmiḥ tasmājjātam') or Chinese silk ('cīnānāma jānpadaḥ tatra yaḥ slakṣṇatarapaṭaḥ tasmājjātam'). It seems that the Chinese silk was made from very smooth silk yarn. The 'kṛmirāga' as its name indicates was the silk dyed in red colour prepared from an insect called kermes or Coccus Indicus. The Malaya silk was perhaps the product of Malabar or South Bihar. The 'suvarṇa' silk is described by the commentator as golden coloured silk, the thread being spun by a particular variety of silk-worms.

'Dukūla' according to Amarasiṃha was a synonym of 'kṣauma' (linen) and the linen covers were known as 'nivita' and 'prāvṛta'. It seems that at some later date all thin bleached materials were being classified as 'dukūla'⁴. The 11th century commentator of the 'Ācārāṅga-sūtra'⁵ however, explains 'dukūla' as cloth made from the cotton grown in Gauḍa.

The 'Amarakoṣa' also gives words denoting the measurements of cloth. The cloth ends or hems are known as 'daśā' and 'vasati', the

1. Ak., II, 6. 113.

2. 'Anuyogadvara Sūtra', 37.

3. 'Bṛhat.' Vol. IV, 3661.

4. Ak., II, 6. 112.

5. See the commentary of Mallinātha, 'Raghuvamśa', I, 69.

6. 'Ācārāṅga-sūtra', II, 5, 4.

length as 'dairghya', 'āyāma' and 'āroha' and the breadth as 'pariṇāha' and 'viśālatā'.¹

The various stages in the wear and tear of the cloth after constant use have been expressed by several words. Old worn out clothes are known as 'pataccara' and 'jirṇa-vastra' and damaged and dirty clothes are known as 'naktaka' and 'karpaṭa'.²

Clothes in general were known by the following six words: 'vastra', 'ācchādana', 'vāsaḥ', 'caila', 'vasana' and 'amśuka'.³ For costly garments the words 'sucelaka' and 'paṭa' have been used, and for coarser kinds of cloth 'varāṣi' and 'sthūlaśāṭaka'. It is interesting to note in this connection that the coarser and cheaper varieties of Benares tissue 'sārīs' and brocades are usually designated by the local traders as 'rāsīmal', which is probably the degenerated form of the Sanskrit 'Varāṣi'. In Vedic literature, however, 'Barāṣi' denotes a variety of cloth manufactured from the fibres of the Baras tree.⁴

In the categories of wrappers and bed coverings various sub-divisions have been noted. The bed covers are known as 'nicola' and 'pracchadapaṭa', and the rugs used as floor carpets are known as 'rallaka' and 'kambala'.⁵

Let us also examine the Chinese pilgrims' accounts of India which form delightful readings from the point of view of the social history of India. Fa-hien who visited India in the early 5th century (A.D. 405-411) has unfortunately left only a meagre account for the reconstruction of its social history. Nearly two centuries later, however, when the greatest of the Chinese pilgrims, Yuan Chwang (A.D. 629-645) and after him I-tsing (A.D. 671-695) visited India, they recorded interesting details of the life of the people.

Yuan Chwang gives the following description of the clothing materials:

'Kiao-she-ye (Kauśeya)—this being the wild silk⁶ obtained from

1. 'Ak.' II, 6, 114.

2. 'Ak.' II, 6, 115.

3. 'Ak.' II, 6, 115.

4. 'Bharatiya Vidyā' I, 1, p. 34.

5. 'Ak.' II, 6, 116.

6. Thomas Watters, 'On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India', Vol. I, p. 149. London, 1904.

the cocoon of 'Bombyx Mori'. The interpretation of 'kauṣeya' as wild silk does not seem to be right as the word 'kauṣeya' in the 'Amarakoṣa' stands for all kinds of silks obtained from cocoons, wild or cultured. Muslin, Yuan Chwang names as 'tieh', calico as 'pu', chu'i (or ch'u), mo (kṣaunṭa) as a kind of linen, 'han' (or 'kan')-po-lo' (kambala) a texture of fine wool (sheep's wool or goat's hair) and 'ho-la-li', a texture made from the wool of a wild animal—this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven was prized as a material for clothing². 'Ho-la-li' whose Sanskrit equivalent is suggested as 'ral' by Watters is perhaps the same as the 'rallaka' of the 'Amarakoṣa', used for a variety of woollen cloths. At another place Yuan Chwang mentions 'śāṇaka' as a dark red cloth made of the fibre of the 'śāṇaka' plant (a kind of hemp, Cannabis Sativa or Crotolaria Juncea) used by 'bhikkhus'.

The accounts of the Chinese travellers and other written evidence throw light on the localities which were famous for the manufacture of cloth. Yuan Chwang speaks of a variety of striped cloth manufactured at Mathurā.³ It is noteworthy in this connection that in the Ajaṇṭā paintings both men and women wear garments made of striped cloth.

It is mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta's time that a section of silk weavers migrated from Lāṭadeśa to Mandasor. Some of the migrants took to other professions but the remainder organised themselves in a separate guild. They built a temple of Sūrya in Mālava Samvat 494 (437-38 A.D.) which was repaired in A.D. 473-464, when the above inscription was added.⁴ In this inscription the weavers have beautifully expressed their just pride towards their profession and the high quality of their manufactured goods. The relevant portions are quoted below :

'Tarūṇya-kāntyupacitopi-suvarṇa-hāra-tāmbūla-puṣpavidhināsama-l-
amkṛtopi, nārijanah priyamupaiti na tāvad agrāśrayam yāvanna-paṭṭmaya-

1. Ak. II, 6, 111.

2. Watters, loc. cit., p. 148.

3. Ak. II, 6, 116.

4. Watters, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 120.

5. Watters, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 301.

6. Ind. Ant. XV, 176.

vastra-yugāni dhatte. sparśavatā varṇāntara-vibhāgacitreṇa netrasubhageṇa yaiḥ sakalamidaṃ kṣititalam alaṃkṛtaṃ paṭṭavastreṇa."¹

In the above quotation the importance is shown of silken garments in the appearance of a woman of the Gupta period, their smoothness (sparśavatā), and the balance of colours on their texture (varṇāntaravibhāgacitreṇa).

The 'añḍī' and 'mūgā' silks of Assam are famous for their durability. In the Gupta period figured cloth was also manufactured in Assam. The presents sent by the ruler of Assam to Śrī Harṣa included pieces as smooth as birch bark (bhūrjatvak-komalāḥ jāti-paṭṭikāḥ), or smooth figured silks² (citrapaṭānām ca mradiyasām). The 'jāti-paṭṭikāḥ' does not mean loin-cloths as suggested by Cowell. It may mean, as its literal meaning suggests (jāti-jasmine, 'paṭṭikāḥ'—silken strips), long strips of silk in which the patterns of jasmine flowers were interwoven. Its comparison with the birch bark indicates that perhaps it was 'mūgā' silk which is very soft and tawny in colour like birch bark.

Bengal was renowned even in those days for its weaving. The 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā' of the Paṇḍra⁴ country were famous.

The tie-dyeing of Gujarāt and Rājputānā is famous all over the country and the tie-dyed or gaily coloured 'bandana' scarves beloved of the sailors all over the world were a product of Gujarāt. In the 'Harṣa-*carita*' the tie-dyed cloth, 'bādhaṇī' or 'cūdarī', as it is known in Gujarātī and Hindī, respectively, is called 'pulakabandha'; ladies' shirts were made of it.⁵

In the 'Vyavahāra-sūtra Bhāṣya'⁶ a list is given of the countries in which cloth was manufactured. Textiles were imported from foreign countries (pāravatādi). The word 'adi', or 'etc.', according to the commentator here indicates Paṇḍra. At the time when the Bhāṣya was written in the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era, Koṭṭamba, Tāmralipti and Sindhu were also important centres of cloth manufacture. Koṭṭamba has

1. Ind. Ant., XV, p. 197.

2. 'Harṣacarita', p. 214.

3. Ib., p. 172.

4. Cunningham, 'Ancient Geography', Notes, x. 724. Prof. Sastri identifies the Paṇḍra country with Maldah, portions of Purnea east of Kosi and parts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi.

5. 'Harṣacarita', p. 261.

6. VII, 3.

been explained by the commentator as the cloth, manufactured in Gauḍa. But this explanation is wrong. The Koṭumbara cloth, as apparent from Buddhist literature, was a product of the Audumbara country—the region about Pathankot near Amritsar in the Pañjāb.¹ It seems that in the eleventh century when the commentary of the 'Vyavahāra-sūtra Bhāṣya' was written the memory of the Audumbaras had faded to such an extent that Koṭumbara, their country, was being located in Bengal instead of the Pañjāb. Tāmralipti, the modern Tamluk in Bengal, seems to have been another famous centre for textiles. It is difficult to say whether cloth was actually manufactured there or whether the varieties imported at Tāmralipti port are meant. Sindhu, or Sindh Sagar Doab in the Pañjāb, was also famous for its textiles, probably woollen.

The heavy brocade known as 'kimkhab' for which Benares is famous was known as 'puṣpapaṭṭa'.²

Pomp and show are a special feature of Hindu marriages. At the time of the marriage both the bride and bridegroom's parties vie with one another to display and offer as presents brocade 'sārīs' and other rich garments. In the 'Harṣacarita' a display of rich textile materials was made in the palace of Harṣa at the time of the marriage ceremony of his sister Rājyaśrī; 'kṣauma' (linen), cotton (bādara), 'dukūla,' 'lālātantuja', 'netra' and fine silks (amśuka)³ were exhibited. The exact nature of 'netra' cloth is unknown. In the opinion of Cowell it was a sort of silk woven from golden threads and silk yarn. Kṣīrasvāmī, the commentator of the 'Amarakoṣa', says that 'netra' was manufactured from the fibres of the bark and roots of a particular tree. 'Lālātantuja' has been translated as spider's silk though its meaning is not clear. Perhaps the term was used for a very fine variety of transparent silk.

III

It has been emphasised that the Indian garments were unsewn and that the men wore 'dhotīs' and 'dupaṭṭās' and the women 'sārīs'. Bearing

1. 'Bhāratīya Vidyā', I. 1. p. 40.

2. 'Harṣacarita', p. 85.

3. Ib., p. 195.

4. 'Ak.', ib., p. 813.

in mind the climatic conditions of the country which in the major part of the year is hot, 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā', 'sāris' and 'chādar' are the most suitable apparel from the hygienic point of view. But this did not preclude the Indians from wearing sewn and tailored garments also. There were, however, various modes of wearing the unsewn 'dhoti', 'dupaṭṭā', or 'chādar', which imparted grace to the wearer and changed the monotony of the wrapped round white sheets.

The description of uncut and also of tailor-made garments in the 'Amarakoṣa' however is meagre. For 'dhoti' there are four words: 'antariya, upasaṃvyāna, paridhāna' and 'adhomaśuka', and for the 'dupaṭṭā' and 'chādar' five, namely, 'prāvāra, uttarāsaṅga, vṛhatikā, saṃvyāna' and 'uttariya'. It is difficult to point out the difference in the materials or measurements of the various synonyms of the 'dhotis' and 'dupaṭṭās'. For women's bodices the terms 'cola' and 'kūrpāsaka' have been used¹ but their difference is not indicated. The word 'kūrpāsaka' in the sense of bodice has been used several times by Kālidāsa.² As evident from the 'Rtusamhāra', 'kūrpāsaka' seems to have been a sort of close-fitting bodice. The winter cloak was known as 'niśāra'.³ The woman's petticoat reaching to half the length of the thighs was known as 'caṇḍātaka'.⁴ Later on, however, we find that the 'caṇḍātaka' had lost its particular meaning as woman's petticoat and was being used as a shirt both by men and women. A sewn garment reaching down to the feet was designated as 'prapadīna'.⁵

Passages in the Sanskrit literature of the Gupta age, especially in the works of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa, throw considerable light on contemporary fashions. The women besides being draped in 'sāri' and 'chādar' also wore a 'vaikakṣya'. Describing the dress of Sāvitrī, Bāṇa observes that she had on a shawl (gātrikā) the knot of which was tied between her

1. Ak. II, 6, 117.

2. Ak. II, 6, 117-18.

3. Ak. II, 6, 118.

4. 'Rtusamhāra', IV, 16. 'Kūrpāsakam paridadhāti nakhakaṣeṭhāṅgi': Ib., V, 8. 'Manojīva-kūrpāsaka-piḍitastanāḥ.'

5. V, 8.

6. Ak. II, 6, 118.

7. Ib., II, 6, 119.

8. Ib., II, 6, 119.

breasts' and her 'vaikakṣya' (a garland worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm like the 'yajñopavīta') was formed by a 'yogapaṭṭa' (a scarf tied round the body at the time of meditation²). The women also were clad in tunics. Describing the beauty of Mālātī, Bāṇa observes that she wore a gown (kañcīka) of white bleached 'netra' cloth lighter than a snake's slough flowing down to her toes.³ Underneath that gown gleamed a petticoat (caṇḍātaka) of saffron tint and variegated with spots of different colours.⁴ Here the 'pulaḥabandha' refers to the famous tie-dyed 'cūdarī' or 'bādhaṇī' of Gujarāt and Rājputānā. It is also mentioned that the women of Thaneshwar wore bolices.⁵

The women were dressed in robes which at times bore beautiful patterns. Thus a divine woman is represented as wearing a dazzling muslin robe embroidered with hundreds of diverse flowers and birds and gently rippled by the motion of the breeze.⁶

The clothes were adjusted by the women to suit the seasons. In summer a light 'sārī' of 'dukūla' covered the lower part of their body⁷; in spring they wore saffron-coloured 'sārīs' and red and saffron breastbands.⁸

The king's costume was simple but effective. In the 'Harṣacarita' Harṣa wears a 'dhoti' interwoven with 'netra' threads⁹ and a star-spangled scarf. The white 'dhoti' was often decorated with the geese pattern and its ends floated in the air wafted by the flywhisk.¹⁰ It is also mentioned that Harṣa while ready to go to the battle field wore a 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā' decorated with the geese pattern.¹¹

1. 'Stanamadhyagatrikāgranthib,' 'Harṣacarita', p. 6.

2. Ib. 'yogapaṭṭena viracita-vaikakṣaka.'

3. 'Dhauta-dhavalā-netra-nirmitena nirmokalaḥgutareṇa prapadīnena kañcukena tirohita-tanulatā', Ib., p. 261.

4. 'Kṛtakusumbharāga-pūṭalam pulaka-bandha-citraṃ caṇḍātaka-mantaḥ-sphuṭam', Ib.

5. Ib., p. 83.

6. 'Bahuvīdha-kusuma-śakuni-śata-śobhitā-ttapavanacalita stanutarapṛāḍatisvachādamśukāt', Ib., p. 96.

7. 'Rtusaṃbhāra', I. 4.

8. 'Kusumbharāgarūpitāḥ dukulāḥ nīlāmbabimbāni vilāsīnīm, raktāpśukalīḥ kuṃkumārāgagaurai-raṇṇakriyante stanamaṇḍalāni', Ib., VI 4.

9. 'Satīrāgaṇoparikṛteṇa dvitīyāmbareṇa vimalapayadhautena netrasūtraniveśa-śobhinādhara-vāsakā', Ib., p. 59.

10. 'Amṛta-phena-dhāvale gorocanā-līkhita-haṃsa-mithuna-saṇātha-paryante cārucamarapranartitā-dase' 'Kādambarī', ed. Kala, p. 19.

11. 'Paridhaya rāja-haṃsa-mithuna-lakṣmaṇī sadṛśe dukūle', 'Harṣacarita', p. 198.

In the sixth 'Aṅga' of the Jain canon, the *Nāyā-Dhamma-Kaḥāo*,¹ the costume of Prince Goyame is made up of a silken 'dhoti' ('amśuka') and cotton ('dukūla') scarf ('uttariya'). These pieces are described as coloured, soft to touch ('vaṇṇa-pharisa-sajuttam'), surpassing the delicacy of a horse's foam, white and worked with gold at the corners ('dhavala-kaṇaya-khaciyanta-kammam'), bright as the sky and crystal clear. In the 'Antagaḍa Dasāo'² it is mentioned that Prince Gautama at the time of his renunciation, when he was ready to go to his teacher, was clothed in a robe figured with swans ('haṃsa-lakkhaṇa-dugulla'), which could be lifted by the breath of the nostrils.

The people of higher social status dressed in the garments befitting their position in society. The mode of wearing the 'dhoti' by a member of this class is described by Bāṇa as follows: "The youth whom Sarasvatī saw had his waist marked off by a tight drawn lower garment of 'harita' green, of which one corner was gracefully set in front, a little below the navel, and the hem hung over the girdle behind, and which on both sides was so girt up as to display a third of his thigh".

Bāṇa was familiar with the appearance of the soldiers of his period. From his observant eyes even the smallest detail of their costume did not escape. The soldiers on foot in Bāṇa's time wore tunics spotted with black aloe-wood paste and their heads were covered with turbans made of scarves: their daggers were fastened in strong knots in sashes of double cloth⁴. The horsemen generally wore white turbans and the 'vārabāṇa'⁵. At times the soldiers wore spotted tunics imitating the tiger skin and turbans made of various strips of cloth⁶. The soldierly uniforms of the chieftains accompanying Harṣa when he started for

1. I. 13.

2. Tr. by Barnett, p. 46.

3. 'Puraṣṭādīṣadadhonābhi-nibhitaikakopa-kamanīyena pyṭhataḥ kakṛyādhitakṣiptapallaveno-bhayataḥ saṁcalanaprakāṣitoru tribhāgena hārīta-harītā nibhitanipīḍitena-dharmavāsāṁ vibhāṣyamāna-tenutaramadhyabhāgam', *Ib.*, pp. 17-18.

4. 'Pinaddha-kṣṣapaguru-paṇka-kalka-cchurapa-kṣṣa-śabala-kaṣāya-kaṇoukena, uttariya-kṛta-śiroveṣṭanena'.

'Dvigunapattapattikā-gīdhagrathī-grathitāsidhenunā'. *Ib.*, p. 16.

5. 'Dhavaḷa-vārabāṇa-dhāriṇam, dhautā-dukūla-pattikā-pariveṣṭitamaulim', *Ib.*, p. 19.

6. 'Jaraḍ-vyāghra-carmaśabala-vasana-kaṇouka-dhāribhīḥ — anekapattā-śirakodbadha-maulibhīḥ 'Kādambarī', p. 161.

the battle-field was as follows : Their shanks were covered with delicately tinted 'netra' cloth. Their copper-coloured legs were chequered with mud-stained wraps and a heightened white was produced by trousers soft and dark as bees'. They wore tunics of dark blue lapis-lazuli shade¹. Chinese cuirasses were thrown over them². They also wore coats and doublets³, and other bodices speckled with the mixture of various colours⁴ and shawls of the shade of a parrot's tail⁵. They wore turbans to which were stuck the stalks of ear-lotuses⁶ and their heads were often wrapped in shawls of soft saffron hue⁷.

Some of the garments described above are recognisable, while others are not. 'Kañcuka' and 'vārabāṇa', according to the 'Amarakoṣa', are the body armour⁸. But from the description of the 'kañcuka' as worn by the chieftains it is evident that it was a tunic-like garment. At one place it is said to have been made from spotted cloth and at another place from cloth of lapis-lazuli shade. There is no hint given whether 'vārabāṇa' was made of metal or cloth. Probably it was a full-sleeved padded coat, something like the 'chiltā' of the Mughal period which was worn to guard the body against the thrust of sharp-edged weapons. 'Cina-cola' has been translated by Cowell as Chinese cuirass, which in the English dictionaries is described as body-armour breast-plate and back-plate fastened together, or woman's close-fitting sleeveless bodice. From its description, one thing is certain that it was worn over the tunic and therefore it could be some sort of armour; or it could also be a padded full-sleeved long-coat with V-shaped neck which is worn all over Central Asia. What kind of coat 'stavaraka' was it is difficult to

1. 'Ucitra-netra-sukumāra-svasta-gaṇa-sthagita-jāṅghā-kandaiśca. kardamika-paṭa-kalmasita-piśaṅga-pliṅgaiḥ alinila-maṣṭṭa-satula-samutpadita-sita-samayoga-parabhagaiḥ.' 'Harṣacarita', p. 303.
2. 'Avadāta-deha-virājamāna-rājāvartaka-mecakaiḥ, kañcukaiḥ.' Ib.
3. 'Upacita-cina-colakaiśca.' Ib.
4. 'Tāra-muktā-stabakita-stavaraka-vārabāṇaiśca.' Ib.
5. 'Nānakaṣāya-karburna-kūrpāsakaiḥ.' Ib.
6. 'Śukapīchośchāyācchādanakaiśca.' Ib.
7. 'Uṣṇiṣa-paṭṭāvastabha-karpotpalanāśca.' Ib.
8. 'Kutūkumarāga-komalottariyāntaritottamāṅgaiśca', Ib., p. 302.
9. II, 8. 64.

say. 'Kūrpāsaka' in the 'Amarakoṣa' is a synonym for 'coli.' Probably it was a garment of modern 'mirzai' type.

Bāṇa at several places has also given glimpses of the costumes of the officers of the state, messengers, mendicants, writers, etc. Such is the descriptive power of Bāṇa that with the sure touch of a master artist he creates an indelible picture of a person or event. Describing, for instance, the messenger sent by Kṛṣṇa, the brother of Harṣa, to Bāṇa, he gives in a line the complete picture of the costume of the messenger. "His tunic was tied with a 'kamarband' and his loose hair was tied behind with a dirty tattered cloth¹." This simple description recreates the personality of a dust-covered messenger coming from a long distance. It seems that the door-keepers ('pratihāri' and 'mahāpratihāri') wore white tunics² and tied their waists with 'kamarbands.' The description of the costume of Bhairavācārya, a 'sanyāsī', and its comparison with the garments of a present-day Hindu 'sanyāsī' should convince us of the truthfulness of Bāṇa's observation. At one place he is mentioned as wearing a red ascetic's scarf hanging from his shoulders, which formed the 'vaikakṣa' scarf³, and his upper robe consisted of a tattered rag knotted above his heart and stained with red ochre. At another occasion when Harṣa saw Bhairavācārya at his place he wore a black woollen 'chādar'⁴ and loin-cloth made of linen⁵. Encircling him as 'paryaṅka' band was an ascetic's wrap in hue white as ambrosia foam⁶. He also wore sandals (pādukā)⁷.

In the paintings of Ajaṇṭā very few people wear turbans though turbans are fairly common in Gupta portrait coins which will be described later. The literature of the period is also particularly rich in reference

1. II. 6. 118.

2. 'Kārdamika-celadrikāniyamitoccapācandātakam, granthim.' 'Harṣacarita', p. 41.

prsthā-preṣkhat-pāṭaccara-ghaṭitagaṇita-

3. 'Vidhra-kañhouka cehanna-vapuṣā.' Ib., p. 49.

'kañhoukāvachannavapuṣā', 'Kādambari.' p. 35.

4. 'Harṣacarita', p. 49.

5. 'Dhāturasāruṇena karpāṇena kṛtottarāsāṅgam.' Ib., p. 86.

6. 'Kṛṣṇa-kambala-prāvarapa.' Ib., p. 263.

7. 'Pāṇḍara pavitra kṣaumāvṛta-kaupīnam.' Ib., p. 265.

8. 'Sāvaṣṭambha-paryaṅka-bandha-maṇḍalitenāmṛta-phena-śveta-rucāyoga-paṭṭakena.' Ib.

9. Ib.

to turbans. At one place in the 'Harṣacarita' the muslin strips which were used for tying the turbans are mentioned¹. At another place turbans with large knots tied in the centre of the foreheads are described². The rarity of turbans at Ajaṇṭā may be attributed to some local peculiarity or it may be due to the fact that the painters would not have been able to show the varied fashions in hairdressing had they covered the heads of the male figures with turbans, and hence they discarded the turban altogether.

IV.

Yuan Chwang, whose description of Indian costumes seems to have been borrowed from some old conventionalised sources, mentions that the Indians did not wear sewn clothes. They preferred white cloth. The men wound a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and left the right shoulder bare. The women wore a long robe which covered both the shoulders and fell down loose³. Yuan Chwang's description of the women's costume is rather vague and one is unable to decide whether 'kurtī', 'chādar', or 'sāri' is meant. Besides these articles of common wear, in Northern India, because of its cold climate close-fitting jackets were worn resembling the garments of the same nature worn by the Tartars⁴. Probably these were of the later 'bagalbandi' type, a full-sleeved padded coat tied with fasteners on the left side.

I-tsing, another Chinese traveller, has given at some length the description of the costume of the laymen as well as of the clergy. Describing the costume of the clergy of the 'Mūlasarvāstivādin' school of Buddhism, I-tsing observes that their costume was made up of the following articles : 'saṅghāṭī' (double cloak), 'uttarāsaṅga' (upper garment) and 'antarvāsa' (inner garment)⁵. Besides these, the use of

1. 'Aṃśukoṣṇīṣa-paṭṭikāmiva.' *Ib.*, p. 14.

2. 'Uṣṇīṣapaṭṭakamīlālīṣa-madhya-ghaṭīta-vikāṣa-svastika-granthin.' *Ib.*, pp. 90-91.

3. Watters, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 148.

4. *Ib.*

5. 'A Record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India and the Malaya Archipelago', p. 54.

Tr. by J. Takakusu. Oxford 1896.

the following articles was also ordained as lawful : (1) 'niṣīdana', a mat for sitting or lying on ; (2) 'nivasana', an under-garment ; (3) 'pratinivasana', a second under-garment ; (4) 'saṃkaksikā', a side-covering cloth ; (5) 'kāya-proñchana', a towel for wiping the body ; (6) 'mukha-proñchana', a towel for wiping the face ; (7) 'keśa-pratigraha', a piece of cloth for receiving hair when one shaves ; (8) 'bheṣajapar-iṣkāra cīvara', a cloth for defraying the cost of medicine. All the articles of costume, etc., not mentioned in the above list were not to be used except the woollen garments which the 'bhikkhus' could use¹.

It seems that fine and rough silks were used by the 'bhikkhus' all over India, and I-tsing does not approve of any prohibition regarding the wearing of silk. In his opinion it was absurd that the wearing of linen which was difficult to procure was lawful, while the use of silk easily procurable was rejected. Another argument advanced in favour of the rejection of silk was that it was obtained by destroying life. I-tsing dismisses the argument by asserting that if the theory of the destruction of life were to be carried to a certain extreme the monks would be forced to discard practically everything.² This partiality towards silk may be explained by the fact that I-tsing came from a country where silk was manufactured in abundance and linen was difficult to procure. Incidentally it also shows the scientific bent of I-tsing's mind.

The distinction between the four Buddhist Nikāyas was made by the different modes in which they wore their under-garment (nivāsana). The followers of the Mūlasarvāstivādin school drew the ends of the under-garment through the girdle and suspended them over it, whereas the followers of the Mahāsaṃghika school took the right end of the under-garment to the left side and pressed it tight under the girdle. This mode of wearing the under-garment could be compared with the mode of wearing the 'sārī' by the Indian women of that period. The mode of wearing the under-garment by the followers of the Sthavira-Nikāya and Sammita-Nikāya was similar to that of the followers of the Mahāsaṃghika Nikāya, except that the former left the ends of the

1. *Ib.*, p. 55.

2. *Ib.*

under-garment outside, while the latter pressed them under the girdle. The girdles worn by the Buddhist monks of different sects were also of different kinds.¹

A nun's mode of wearing the under-garment was the same as that of a monk of their respective school.² They wore 'uttarasaṅga', 'antarvāsa' and 'saṃkaksikā' in the same manner as the male members of their respective sub-sections of the church, but they wore their skirts in a different way. The skirt was known as 'kusūlaka', which could be translated as 'a bin-like garment', for its shape was like a small bin ('kusūla'). It was fashioned from a piece of cloth with its both ends sewn together. The measurement of the cloth was four cubits long and two wide. The skirt reached as far as the navel and came down as low as four fingers above the ankles. In putting it on, it was first stepped in and then was pulled up to the navel. The top of the skirt was contracted round the waist and tied at the back.³ Ordinarily the nuns did not cover their sides or chest but after adolescence when their breasts developed they could cover them.⁴

The colour dyes for the use of the monks were prepared from 'kānda' (*Rehmania glutinosa*), yellow powder (*Pterocarpus indicus*), mixed with red ochre or red stone powder. An inexpensive method was to dye the cloths with the dyes prepared from dates, red earth, red stone powder, wild pear or earth purple.⁵

According to I-tsing, the Indians in general including the officers and the people of the higher classes wore a pair of soft white cloth as garment, while the poorer and the lower classes wore only a single piece of linen. The linen 'dhoti' worn all over India was eight feet long; it had no girdle and was not cut or sewn but was simply wrapped round the waist to cover the lower part.⁶

From Kashmir to all Mongol countries such as Suli, Tibet and the country of the Turkish tribes use was made of skin and wool for

1. Ib., pp. 66-67.

2. Ib., p. 67.

3. Ib., p. 78.

4. Ib.

5. Ib., p. 77.

6. Ib., pp. 67-68.

garments ; cotton cloth was resorted to occasionally. On account of the cold climate the people wore shirts and trousers.¹

It is also mentioned by I-tsing that the monks as well as the laymen in the colder climates wore a garment called 'Li-pa' which seems to be derived from Sanskrit 'repha' or 'lepa' though its origin is uncertain.

It was made in the following way : A piece of cloth was cut so as to have no back and also one shoulder was bare. It was sleeveless. The part covering the left shoulder was not wide. It was tied on the right as a protection against the wind. The garment was padded with cotton-wool to make it thick and warm. Sometimes this garment was sewn together on the right hand side and ribbons were attached at the top end². I-tsing saw this garment in use in Western India, and the priests from the north generally wore it. It was however not worn in the vicinity of Nālandā monastery due to the hot climate of Bihār³. Some priests and laymen wore half shirts though it was against the monastic laws for priests to do so⁴.

Taka-kusu, in the translation of that part of I-tsing's account dealing with the mode of wearing religious garments is not clear. The 'saṃghāṭī' probably, though the name of the garment is not mentioned, was five cubits at both ends ; four or five fingers from the collar, a square piece of cloth measuring five-finger in width was stitched on. It had a hole in the centre through which a ribbon of silk or cotton was passed. These ribbons were tied at the chest⁵. The ribbon and fastener were attached to the upper garment for the purpose of pulling it up a little and tying it in front during meal time⁶. The skirt or lower garment was five cubits long by two cubits wide. It was single or double. This was worn to cover the navel. Both ends of the lower garment were tied in three twists. This fastening was tucked back to be hidden from view. The lower garment was tied with a waistband⁷.

1. *Ib.*, p. 68.

2. *Ib.*, p. 69.

3. *Ib.*, pp. 69-70.

4. *Ib.*, p. 70.

5. *Ib.*, pp. 72-73.

6. *Ib.*, p. 73.

7. *Ib.*, pp. 75-76.

The 'kurtā', an article of common wear in Northern India, seems to have been known in the Gupta period. In the Fan-yu-tsa-ming, the Sanskrit Chinese dictionary of Li-yen—who died between A.D. 785-794—the Sanskrit word for the Chinese 'chian' meaning shirt is 'kuratu'.¹ This word however does not exist in Sanskrit. Its source is uncertain. It may be compared with the 'curta-cabaya' of the Portuguese, but it is difficult to believe that the word 'kurtā' was derived from the Portuguese, a language with which Indians came into contact nearly a thousand years after Li-yen had compiled his dictionary. Probably the Portuguese adopted the Indian word which must have been common in the seventeenth century or earlier. The association of 'cabaya' with 'curta' in the Portuguese 'curta-cabaya' shows that 'kurtā' and 'cabaya' were interrelated. The 'kurtā' was worn underneath the 'kaba'—a Persian word for a long gown—and these two constituted important articles in the costume of the Mughals. But the origin of 'kuratu' in Li-yen's dictionary is still unknown.

From the Chinese sources we also gain some knowledge of the footwear of the Indians in the Gupta period. In the Fan-yu-tsa-ming, the Sanskrit equivalent of 'hiue' meaning boot in Chinese is given as 'kavaṣi'. This word again is foreign to Sanskrit. The word, as Pelliot remarks, resembles the Iranian 'kafš', (shoe), still used among the Turkish tribes of Central Asia under the form 'kāpiš' and 'kipiš', meaning sandals. The form may be compared with the Tibetan 'kab-sa' which signifies leather shoes of Hindu fashion used by the wealthier Tibetans. In the 'Le Fan Tang Siao Si' ('Brahma-cina-vartta-mukha') an appendix to the dictionary Yi-tsing there are two Sanskrit words 'śavanasa' and 'pūla' standing for the Chinese 'hiue' and 'hiai' meaning boots and shoes. In the 'Mahāvyutpatti' are many words for boots and shoes 'upānaḥ', 'pādukā', 'pādaveṣṭanikā', 'pūlā', and 'maṇḍa-pūlāḥ' ('maṇḍa-pūla'). The 'pūla' of the 'Le Fan Tang Siao Si' is the same as 'pūlā-pūla' of the 'Mahāvyutpatti'. The origins of the 'śavanasa' and 'pūla' however are uncertain.²

1. Nagchi, P. G., 'Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois', Tome II, p. 357, Paris, 1927.

2. *Ib.*, p. 443.

Apparently the words mentioned above for shoes were either coined in Central Asia or belonged to the 'deśī bhāṣā' or popular speech in India. I am unable to trace the origin of 'pūla', but 'muṇḍapūla' of the 'Mahāvīyutpatti' seems to have been derived from 'muṇḍā' or a common variety of country-made shoe without the decorative hook at the tip. This 'muṇḍā' shoe is worn by peasants all over the eastern United Provinces of India. The 'kavaṣi' in the 'Fan-yu-tsa-ming' which is perhaps the same as Iranian 'kafī' and 'kāpī-kipī' of Central Asia has its equivalent in the Sanskrit 'khapusā' mentioned in the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya' and described as boots covering the knees. The probability is that 'khapusā' or 'kavaṣi' were boots of Iranian origin brought to India by the Sakas and the Kuṣāṇs whose Iranian affinities are well known.

V.

The Jain canon whose study unfortunately has been neglected so far is full of information about Indian costumes and textile materials both as used by the monks and nuns and also the laymen. This information is however given in greater detail in the 'Cheda-sūtras' or that portion of the Jain ceremonial literature which prescribes rules for the rightful conduct of the monks. There are six such 'Cheda-sūtras', the most important of them being the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra'. The information in the 'sūtra' portion is laconic, though it is greatly augmented by the 'bhāṣyas', and commentaries written at a much later date.

In the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya', a work of unsurpassed interest to students of social history, a large section is devoted to monastic costumes, the different degrees of sin attached to wearing the unlawful garments and the expiatory rites connected with them, etc. Incidentally, much light is thrown on the laymen's costume as well. The 'sūtra' portion of the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra' is admittedly very old and its authorship is ascribed to Bhadrabāhu who was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya in the fourth century B. C. The 'Bhāṣya', on the 'sūtras' however is of considerably later date and contains much more original material than the 'sūtras'. The date of the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya' by Jinadāsa Kṣamāśramaṇa has not been fixed but there is no reason to believe that it is later than the

Gupta period ; within the 'Bhāṣya' itself there are references to contemporary coins and kings, etc. which would fix its date to the 1st. or 2nd. century A. D. Anyway, its materials can be utilised for the social history of India in the Gupta period as the text of the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra', if the Jain tradition is to be believed, with the Aṅgas was edited and compiled in the third council of the Jain teachers held at Valabhi in the fifth century at the invitation of Devardhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa.

The 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya' enjoins the change of garments on four occasions : (1) the clothes which were changed daily ('nityanivasana') ; (2) the washed clothes changed after taking one's bath ('majjanikam') ; (3) festive garments ('kṣaṇotsavikam') worn while attending fairs and festivities ; (4) garments worn while paying calls on the kings, nobles, etc. ('rājadvārikam'). The interest in the fourfold division lies in the fact that an Indian of high social status till recently believed in wearing his garments appropriate to the occasion. It is but recently that a westernization of Indian clothing and a sluggish, careless manner has narrowed the difference between the clothes to be worn on different occasions but even now it is not uncommon to reserve a suit or coat for the ceremonial occasions.

The fashion of the day demanded a high finish of the washed clothes, and the different processes are frequently mentioned in Jain literature to give a nice finish to the washed clothes. At first the cloth was washed ('dhauta') ; then it was calendered ('ghrṣṭa') and starched ('mrṣṭa') and then perfumed ('saṃpradhūmita').¹

The importance of clothing among the Jains could also be gauged from the strong belief² that the different parts of a cloth are presided by different gods and demons. It is said that the four corners are presided by the deities whose names have not been given ; the border and middle portions are assigned to a class of Ancestors, the parts touching the ears come within the domain of the Asuras, and the central point is presided over by the Rākṣasas. The relation of the supernatural elements

1. I, 644.

2. 'Bṛhat Bhāṣya', III, 8001.

3. Ib., III, 2699.

with the cloth seems to have been enjoined so that the religious garments should be up to the prescribed measurements otherwise the benign and evil spirits would be disturbed.

The Jain monks in this age in keeping with the ancient authority of Bhadrabāhu¹ were allowed the use of the following lawful textile materials :² 'jāṅgika', 'bhāṅgika', 'śāṇaka', 'pottaka' and 'tiriṭa-patra'. The 'jāṅgika' is described in the 'bhāṣya' as cloth manufactured from camel's hair. In connection with woollen cloth the 'bhāṣya' mentions that cloth manufactured from sheep's wool was 'auṣṇika', from camel's hair 'auṣṭrika' and from deer's hair 'mṛga-roma'; 'kutapa' is explained as 'jīṇa', and 'kiṭṭa' was manufactured from the wool or hair, which apparently means that this variety of cloth was manufactured from the residue of the hair or wool after the best part had been utilised for better grades of cloth ('teṣāmevornaṛomādīnāmavayavaḥ tanniṣṭpannam vastramapi').³

In the 'bhāṅgika' class of textile materials are included linen, and the cloth made from the fibre obtained from bamboo shoots'. Śāṇa is hempen cloth; 'pottaka' is the cloth manufactured from cotton, and 'tiriṭapaṭṭa' is made from the bark of the Tiriṭa tree.

The Jain monks' garments had to conform to the following requisites: They had to be of proper measurement ('pramāṇavat'), of even texture ('samam'), strong ('sthira') and beautiful ('rucikāraka').⁴

The wearing of woollen undergarments was disallowed to the Jain monks as it attracted lice and dirt. If, however, the woollen garment formed an outer covering it did not become dirty and protected the

1. Ib., Vol. IV p. 1017, 'sūtra'.

2. Ib., Vol. IV, 9661.

3. 'Bṛhat-kalpa Bhāṣya', Vol. IV, 8863.

4. In the footnote ('Bṛhat', IV, p. 1018, fn. 2) the learned editors have quoted the explanation of the above terms from two 'Cūṛṇi'. According to one 'cūṛṇi' the 'mṛga-roma' is explained as 'salomaṃ mūṣaka-lomamvū'. 'Saloma' may mean bristling with hair or may also mean fur; 'mūṣaka-loma' apparently means the hair of the mouse; but here the 'mūṣaka' may indicate all sorts of rodents from the colder regions, whose pelts were used for cloth-making. In the 'Viśeṣa cūṛṇi', 'mṛga-roma' is described as 'pavvaśyānam roma' or knotted wool of goat; the 'kutapa' is described as made of some part of goat's wool thereby meaning that 'kutapa' was made from the shaggy hair, the better cloth or pashmina being made from the hair of the underside. 'Kiṭṭima' according to the 'Cūṛṇi' was also made from goat's hair ('achagatigūromam').

5. Ib., Vol. III, 2, 635.

'Body against cold.' The monks, if they could not obtain cotton undergarments, were allowed to use as alternatives an undergarment made of 'tiritāpaṭṭa' cloth or silk ('kausīkāra'; Prakṛt : 'kausiyyā'). If there was no woollen 'chādar' then the first alternative was a wrapper made from fabrics of bark ('valkājam'); the second was silk ('kauseyya'); and the third was a wrapper made from 'tiritā' bark.¹

Among the five kinds of cloth described above as lawful to the Jain monks, a combination of two such, as of cotton and wool, bark or 'tiritā', etc. was allowed. Transgressing this rule meant sin.²

Then certain technical terms about cutting, etc. are described. Thus the garment without cut, joints and unsewn is called 'natural' ('yathā kṛtam'). The garment whose border ('daśikā') was only cut or made by joining two pieces or which was sewn ('tunnam vā kartavyam') was called 'alpaparikarma'. If it was cut or joined or was according to the measurement of the body and was profusely sewn then that was a 'bahuparikarma' garment.

All these types were used by the laymen, but for the monk only the first kind was lawful; but in case he was unable to procure it he could use even the second and third type after performing certain expiatory rites.³ In case, however, the monk was sick or on tour this law was held in abeyance.⁴

The monks were disallowed the use of 'kṛtsna' or 'whole' clothes, which seem to have been used by laymen.⁵ The 'kṛtsna' garments are divided on their merits into the following six classes : 'nāma' (according to name), 'sthāpanā' (of fixed order), 'dravya' (according to ingredients and materials), 'kṣetra' (according to place), 'kāla' (according to time) and 'bhāva' (according to feeling).⁶

The 'dravya' variety of cloth is further sub-divided into 'sakala' and

1. Ib., Vol. IV, 8667.

2. Ib., Vol. IV, 8668.

3. Ib., Vol. IV, 8670.

4. Ib., Vol. IV, 8671.

5. Ib., Vol. IV, 8672.

6. 'Sūtra', Ib., IV, p. 1067.

7. Ib., IV, 8680.

'pramāṇa' subsections. The 'sakala' is defined as closely woven ('ghanam', 'tanubhiḥ sāndram'), smooth ('maṣṣam'), free from ladders ('nirupahatam', 'añjana-khañjanādidoṣarahitam') and with border ('sadaśākam'). It is again classified according to quality as worst ('jaghanya'), middling ('madhyama') and best ('utkrṣṭa'). The commentary explains 'jaghanya' as mouth-cloth etc. ('mukha-potikādi'), middling as perfumed, etc. ('paṭalakādi') and best as starched ('kalapakādi'). The 'pramāṇa-kṛtsna' variety is described as the cloth whose length and breadth ('vistārāyama')¹ exceed the measurements prescribed for the monks.²

By the 'kṣetrakṛtsna' variety are meant those cloths which were not available in certain parts of the country, or if available, were very costly. The commentary adds the remark that the cloths produced in Eastern India were available at a very high cost in Lāṭa or Gujarat.³

The 'kāla-kṛtsna' variety was very costly in certain parts of the year and available with great difficulty. The commentary notes: 'as red garments in summer, wrappers in winter ('śiśiram prāvarakādi') and saffron coloured robes in the rainy season ('varṣāsu kuṃkuma-khacitādi').'⁴

The 'bhava kṛtsna' variety is sub-divided into 'varṇayuta', 'according to colours', and 'mūlyayuta', 'according to prices'.⁵

There were three price grades for worst, middling and best qualities. The cloth which was valued at eighteen 'kāṣṭhapaṇas' was of the worst quality and the one costing a hundred thousand was of the best quality. The cost of the middling variety ranged above eighteen 'kāṣṭhapaṇas' but was less than a lac.⁶

In connection with the expiation prescribed for the monks who wore costly garments the different price grades of the cloth are given as 18, 20, 49, 500, 999, 10000, 50000 and 100000 'kāṣṭhapaṇas'.

1. Ib., Vol. IV, 3881-82.

2. Ib., IV, 3883.

3. Ib., Vol. IV, 3884.

4. Ib., Vol. IV, 3883.

5. Ib., Vol. IV, 3897.

6. Ib., Vol. IV, 3890.

7. Ib., 3893.

Expiatory rites were prescribed for the monks who attracted by the beauty of the costly garments wore their shabby garments grudgingly. This prohibition of certain clothes was based on commonsense. If a monk was on tour the wearing of costly garments resulted in inviting thieves.¹ That was not all; a poor monk wearing rich garments was often put under arrest by custom officers, who under the suspicion that the garments were stolen property, punished the monk.² In this connection the story of a Jain teacher is related. The teacher was once presented with a very costly shawl ('kambala-ratna'). While passing on the road covered with the shawl he was espied by a thief. The teacher after returning to the monastery tore the shawl to pieces. In the night the thief came and demanded the shawl from him with dagger drawn and on being told that it was torn to pieces did not believe him. At this the teacher showed the thief the torn pieces. In great anger the thief after sewing the pieces together took away the shawl as it was.³

The poor Jain monks, however, were allowed a certain amount of liberty in 'sthūṇā' country. Here there was no fear of robbers and the wearing of costly garments did not excite any curiosity. Under such ideal conditions even the prohibited garments could be worn by the monks after having removed their borders.⁴ But there were cases when even the borders ('daśikā') were allowed to remain. In certain cloths of weak texture the borders were added to strengthen them so that they could be worn for a long time. In such garments the borders were allowed to remain. In certain countries in which the cloth did not possess broad borders they were allowed to remain. The commentary cites the example of Sindhu.⁵

The monks suffering from asthma were allowed to wear garments of the measurement prescribed otherwise.⁶ The monks could also

1. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8899-8900.

2. *Ib.*, 8901.

3. *Ib.*, IV, 8903-4.

4. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8905.

5. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8906.

6. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8907.

possess garments having a border for presentation to the doctor attending on them.

Nepal, Tāmralipti and Sindhu-Sauvīra seem to have been great centres of production of costly textile materials. In the above-named countries everybody used 'kṛtsna' garments, even the monks.¹ In the countries like Nepal, etc. there was no fear of thieves, neither was there any special honour attached to wearing costly garments. In the Sindhu-Sauvīra country on the contrary, wearing shabby garments was looked down upon. Under such conditions even the monks could use costly garments.²

In certain countries (the commentary adds the name of Mahārāṣṭra) the blue blanket ('nīlakambala') was a costly article, but out of sheer necessity the monks could use it in winter as nothing else could give warmth.³

It seems that the Jain Church, at least in the later phase of its development, took into consideration the comforts and conveniences of princely novices. As it was difficult for them to sleep in coarse clothes they were allowed the soft ones till they got used to the monkish garment.⁴

Besides the usual 'dhoti' and 'chādar' the monks were allowed to use a 'kamarband' ('paryastaka') of cotton ('phālah'); it was neither coloured nor patterned ('acitraḥ'); it was only four fingers wide and without joints.⁵ Incidentally these instructions show that the 'kamarband' richly coloured and patterned and fairly wide was used by laymen, a fact corroborated by Ajanta paintings.

The monks were also allowed to wear a 'gopālakañcuka' or 'cowherd tunic' while attending on a sick nun, which required them to turn her on the back and to clean her. No further description of this

1. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8912.

2. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8918.

3. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 9314.

4. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8914.

5. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8968.

particular type of 'cowherd tunic' is given. But by inference it could be said that it was a long full-sleeved tunic worn to avoid contamination.¹

Beside the varieties of cloth described above two sets of different types of 'dūṣyas', each containing five varieties, are described.

These were used by the laymen. In the first set 'koyava', 'prāvāraka', 'dāḍhikālī', 'pūrikā' and 'viralikā' are mentioned.²

The following is their description in the commentary :

1. 'Koyava' is described as a wrapper stuffed with cotton.
2. 'Prāvāraka' is described as a fluffy blanket from Nepal ('Nepālādi ulvaṇa-romā-bṛhatkambalaḥ'.) Apparently the order is changed in the commentary by mistake, as usually 'koyava' is a blanket and 'prāvāra' the stuffed wrapper.

3. 'Dāḍhikālī.' It was a washed wrapper, very white, with a dented decoration on the borders.

4. 'Pūrikā'. It was woven with sparsely placed yarns; or it also denoted the sack-cloth woven out of coarse hempen yarns.

5. 'Viralikā'—Dosūti'.

In the second division are included 'upadhāna', 'tūli', 'āliṅgaṇikā', 'gaṇḍopadhāna' and 'masūraka',³ which are different kinds of pillows.

1. 'Upadhāna.' Pillow stuffed with swan feathers.
2. 'Tūli'. Stuffed with clean cotton ('samskṛtarūta') or 'arka' cotton.

3. 'Āliṅgaṇikā'. The body size pillow which was put between the thighs while sleeping.

4. 'Gaṇḍopadhāna.' Pillow for the temples ('gaṇḍa-masūrikā').

5. 'Masūraka.' It was a round cushion ('cakkala-gaddikādi') made of leather or cloth, and stuffed with cotton.⁴

The costume of the Jaina nuns however seems to have been very elaborate. Every precaution seems to have been taken to ensure that their dress covered the body perfectly. The following eleven items

1. Ib., Vol. IV, 8795.

2. Ib., IV, 8823.

3. Ib., IV 8824.

4. Ib., IV, 8824

have been recounted in the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya :¹ 'avagraha, paṭṭa, ardhoruka, calanikā, abhyantara-nivasanī, bahir-nivasanī, kañcuka, aupakakṣikī, vaikakṣikī, saṃghātī and skandhakaraṇī.'

The following are their descriptions :

1. 'Avagraha.' A cover for the private parts. It was broad in the middle and constricted at the sides and was made of closely woven and smooth cloth.²

2. 'Paṭṭa.' It was tied with fasteners fixed on its sides. It was four fingers in width and its length was in accordance with the measurement of the nun's waist. This piece covered the ends of the 'avagraha' and looked like wrestler's shorts ('mallakakṣāvat).³ The wrestler's close-fitting shorts are known as ('kaccha') even to-day.

3. 'Ardhoruka.' It covered the 'avagraha' and 'paṭṭa' and therefore the whole waist. It was shaped like the wrestler's shorts ('jāṅghīā', 'mallacalanākṛtiḥ') except that its broad end was firmly tied between the two thighs ('ūrudvaye ca kasāvabaddhaḥ').⁴ It resembled something like the modern 'lāgoṭa'.

4. 'Calanikā.' It was the same as 'ardhoruka' though it reached half the length of the thighs. It was unsewn and its shape could be compared with the loin-cloth of the bamboo-top dancers (laṅkhika).⁵

5. 'Antarnivasanī'. Beginning from the waist it reached half the length of the thighs. It was worn at the time of dressing to avoid being naked and thus becoming the laughing stock of the people.⁶

6. 'Bahir-nivasanī'. Beginning from the waist it reached the ankles. It was tied to the waist with a string.⁷

7. 'Kañcuka'. It was an unsewn garment three and a half hands in length and one hand in width. This piece was firmly tied on both sides

1. Ib., IV, 4062-88.

2. Ib., IV, 4064.

3. Ib., 4068.

4. Ib.

5. Ib.

6. Ib., Vol. IV, 4067.

7. Ib.

of the waist. It also covered the firm breasts whose contours were brought into prominence by tight garments.¹

8. 'Aupakakṣikī'. It was like a 'kañcuka' and made of a piece one and a half hands square. It covered a part of the chest and back and was tied over the left shoulder.²

9. 'Vaikakṣikī'. It was an opposite of the 'aupakakṣikī' and was worn on the left side and covered 'paṭṭa,' 'kañcuka' and 'aupakakṣikī'.³

10. 'Saṃghātī'. They were four in number, one measuring two hands, two measuring three hands and one measuring four hands in width. In length all the four were from three and half hands to four. One of the 'saṃghātīs' measuring two hands in width was worn while the nun was in the convent ; among the two 'saṃghātīs' of three hands' width one was worn on begging tours and the other while proceeding to the lavatory ; the 'saṃghātī' with four hands width was worn while attending the religious discourses so that it could cover the whole body while the nun stood erect.⁴

11. 'Skandhakaraṇī'. It was a square piece of cloth four hands in length which was kept on the shoulder fourfold to serve as a protecting cover against strong wind. This garment was also used to dwarf the stature of beautiful nuns by placing it on the back and tying it with the 'aupakakṣikī' and 'vaikakṣikī'.⁵

While wearing the undergarments the nuns were not allowed to arrange one end of the 'sāṛī' in folds and tug it in front or on the sides. This part of the garment when arranged in folds is called 'ukkha'. In the 'Niṣītha Cūrṇi' it is explained thus : 'Over the middle part of the lower garment arranged as a round protuberance near the navel'.⁶

The nuns were not allowed to wear a 'kamarband' ('paryastikā') for fear of being accused of being fashionable. In the case of illness, however,

1. Ib., IV, 4088.

2. Ib.

3. Ib., IV, 4089.

4. Ib., IV, pp. 4089-90.

5. Ib., 4091.

6. Ib., Vol. II, 1087

they could use it, but then the 'kamarband' was not to be made from netted materials ('ajalikāh').¹

From the above list of the garments of the nuns it is quite clear that the majority of them, if not all, were used by the women of the Gupta period. In the Ajaṇṭā paintings, garments like 'ardhoruka', 'calanikā', 'bahir-piṇṇaṇi' and 'saṃghātī' are fairly common. These are without exception worn by ordinary women. It seems that in the Gupta period the costume of the Jaina nuns was based on the model of the women's costume then prevalent with the additional garments to avoid nakedness of any part of the body which, as far as the ordinary women were concerned, was considered not a matter of shame but quite in keeping with the fashion of the day.

It is peculiar that in the highly luxurious society of the Gupta age in which a refined sensuality was tolerated without dubbing it immodest, the dancers, both male and female, covered their bodies completely. This is fully supported by the Ajaṇṭā wall paintings in which the dancers whose sex cannot be determined wear tunics and trousers. The 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya'² mentions that the danseuse ('nartakī') having dressed properly did not feel ashamed when lifting her legs. Even the acrobatic danseuse ('laṅkhiṇī') while performing hundreds of tricks in the arena could not feel embarrassed as she was properly dressed. Fortunately for us a good description of a dancer's costume is preserved in the 'Rāyapaseṇaiya'.³ The occasion which afforded the opportunity for the above description was the staging of thirty-two kinds of dances before Mahāvīra at the behest of Sūryābha Deva. The dancers who appeared on the stage at the command of Sūryābha Deva were young and handsome and wore an 'uttariya' dangling on both sides, a tight waistband ('parikara') made of variegated cloth ('uppiliya-ciṭṭa-paṭṭa-pariyara'), tunics⁴ and various multi-coloured gar-

1. *Ib.* V, 5966.

2. *Ib.* IV, 4127.

3. Ed. by Pandit Hachandee.

4. The following description of the garment is given: 'Bappapaka-vattariya-saṅgaya-palamba-vatthantā',—the hanging end of the garment turning round like frothy waves and cut after theatrical requirements ('saṅgatāḥ' com. 'nāṭya-vidhan upapannāḥ'). Either it is a tunic or an apron-like garment worn over the tunic. For freedom of movement this apron-like garment as shown at Ajaṇṭā is so cut that its lower ends hang absolutely loose. (Fig. 69).

ments ('citta-cillaga-niyansaṇaṇam'). They wore a simple one-stringed necklace ('ekāvalī') and other ornaments.¹ This was the costume of the male dancers. From the other end of the stage however entered an equal number of danseuses. They wore 'tilaka' ornaments and a chaplet was tied round their coiffure ('tilaya-amelaṇam'); round their necks was a torque and their breasts were covered with tight breast-bands.²

According to the Jain sources it can be inferred that leather was used in making shoes. Five kinds of leather, namely, cowhide, buffalo hide, goat skin, sheep skin and the skin of wild animals have been recounted in the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra Bhāṣya'.³ The Jain monks and nuns were disallowed the use of any kind of leather goods of any type and colour.⁴ It may be inferred from this that shoes of coloured leather and standard types and sizes were in demand by the people. These leather shoes of standard types and colours were divided into the following four varieties: 'Sakala-kṛtsna', 'pramāṇa-kṛtsna', 'varṇakṛtsna' and 'bandhanakṛtsna'.⁵

The 'sakalakṛtsna' is defined as single-soled ('ekapuṭam' or 'ekatalam').⁶ This single-soled shoe, 'talikā' as it is called, could be used by the Jain monks at night to avoid thorns. In day-time these shoes could be worn when the caravan with which they travelled took a short-cut, as the wearing of shoes at such occasions facilitated walking.⁷

The 'pramāṇa-kṛtsna' shoes had two, three or more soles.⁸

'Khallakā.' The commentary says that they were of two varieties, half 'khallakā' ('ardha-khallakā') and full 'khallakā' ('samasta-khallakā'). The half 'khallakā' shoes covered half the leg while the full 'khallakā' covered the whole leg.⁹

1. 'Bāyapasepaṭṭiya', pp. 123-24.

2. *Ib.*, p. 125. 'pīṇaddha-govajjakaṇṇakīṇam.

3. Vol. IV, 3824.

4. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, p. 1069.

5. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 3846.

6. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 3847.

7. *Ib.*, Vol. II, 2884.

8. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 3847.

9. *Ib.*

The 'khapusā' shoes covered the knees.¹ The 'vāgura' type covered the toes and the feet; and the 'kośaka' type covered the toes to protect the nails against stones, etc., while walking. The 'jaṅghā' type covered the thighs and the 'ardhajaṅghā' covered half of the thighs.² Elsewhere another kind of shoe called 'puṭaka' is mentioned. It was made of strap which covered the skin so that it should not crack during the winter.

The 'kośaka' and 'khapusā' shoes were used to avoid cold, snow, snakes and thorns. Apparently these varieties were used in colder climates. Even the monks could use them without transgressing any instruction.⁴

The 'sakala-kṛtsna' type is further defined as the shoe ('kramaṇikā') made to the exact measurement of the foot; it is not cut or joined in the middle or any other part.⁵

The 'pramāṇā-kṛtsna' shoes include all the varieties described above with the exception that in this type all the varieties had two, three or more soles.⁶

The 'varṇa-kṛtsna' were the shoes made from white or coloured leather.⁷

The 'bandhana-kṛtsna' type of shoes had fasteners more than three in number.⁸ In another place⁹ it is described as sewn or fastened with two or three or even more lines of sewings or fastenings of hemp or cotton threads.

The shoes or boots in general had two fasteners, one hemp fastener at the knees, the other at the five toes. If there were three fasteners then one was at the knee, the second was at the big toe and the third covered the rest of the four toes.¹⁰

1. *Ib.*

2. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8847.

3. *Ib.*, Vol. III, 2884.

4. *Ib.*, Vol. III, 2235.

5. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8848.

6. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8849.

7. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 4861.

8. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8851.

9. *Ib.*, 2202.

10. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8870.

Among the varieties of shoes mentioned above, the 'khalaka' and 'khapusā' type are often represented in the Ajanṭā paintings and Gupta coins.

As already said, monks were not allowed to wear these shoes as they were considered fashionable. They were advised to cut the leather from which they got their shoes in eighteen parts which were then sewn together. No coloured leather was used. Their shoes had only one sole and only one fastener ('ekabandham').¹

The use of any different kind of shoes was not allowed to the monks on the following grounds: (1) The use of leather meant cruelty to cows and other animals.² (2) The shoes being hard, killed the tiny animals while walking.³ (3) While walking without shoes the people looked carefully for thorns, etc. and in doing so also espied worms and other tiny creatures and avoided them, but with shod feet the men became more careless of thorns and therefore about worms, etc.⁴ (4) The very use of shoes presupposed cruelty to the animal world.⁵ (5) The tiny creatures were tender by nature and they could not be expected to withstand the pressure of shoes.⁶

But however meritorious might have been the non-wearing of shoes from the religious point of view it was not possible in the practical everyday life of the Jain monks, and therefore certain exceptions were made to the general rule. The otherwise unlawful wearing of shoes was allowed to the monks on tour, to those who were ill, to those whose feet were tender by nature, to those who were in constant fear of wild animals and robbers, to those who suffered from leprosy, piles or short-sightedness, to child-monks and to nuns on tour. In times of family troubles and mishaps in the country or 'saṃgha', the unlawful shoes could be freely used.⁷ On tour, the monk was advised to wear the 'kośa' and

1. *Ib.*, 1V, 8878.

2. *Ib.*, 8856.

3. *Ib.*, 8857.

4. *Ib.*, 8858.

5. *Ib.*, 8859.

6. *Ib.*, 8861.

7. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 8853.

'khapusā' type of shoes.¹ If a monk was forced to wear unlawful shoes he should choose black-coloured shoes; in their absence, however, red-coloured shoes or shoes of any other colour could be worn but not before they were discoloured.²

VI.

In the reliefs of Goli are depicted types of male costume as worn in South India in the 4th. century. While describing these costumes it is necessary to point out that the South Indian costumes of the 3rd. and 4th. centuries A. D. were very little different from those represented in the Amarāvati and Nāgārjunī-Koṇḍa reliefs.

Costumes of Men of Status :

The princes and the men of higher position wore a simple 'dhoti' tied with a 'kamarband' and turban. The typical mode of wearing the 'dhoti' is shown in the figure of a Nāgarāja (Fig. 1).³ The 'dhoti' reaching a little above the knees is tied to the waist with a looped kamarband, the loop and the free end being passed through a ring. At another place a prince of very high standing, perhaps Siddhārtha, wears a 'dhoti', one end of which is pleated and tucked in in front. It is tied on the waist with a roped belt with elaborate tassels. Through this belt is passed the 'kamarband'. The figure wears a turban to which is attached a heart-shaped ornament with the figure of a bird in the middle (Fig. 2).⁴

A man in private life or in the seclusion of his home wore a 'dhoti' made of thicker stuff tied with a 'kamarband', both ends of which hung freely in front (Fig. 3).⁵ There is no turban.

Soldier's Costume :

Soldiers on march wore a 'dhoti' whose front was folded and tucked in to facilitate marching. A 'kamarband' worn transversely over the waist secured the 'dhoti' (Fig. 4).⁶ In certain cases, however, the end of the

1. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 3863.

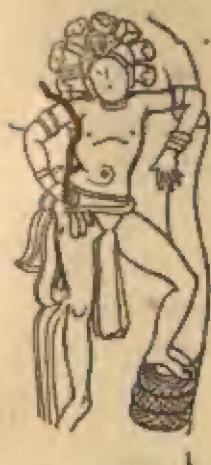
2. *Ib.*, Vol. IV, 3867.

3. Ramchandran, 'Buddhist Sculptures from a stūpa near Goli Village, Guntur District' PL IV, J. Madras, 1929.

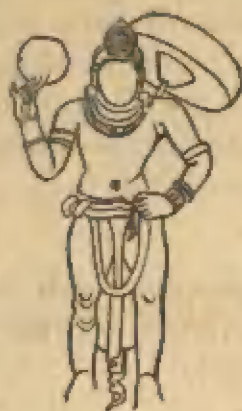
4. *Ib.*, Pl. IX, No. 6.

5. *Ib.*, Pl. III, G.

6. *Ib.*, Pl. V, B.



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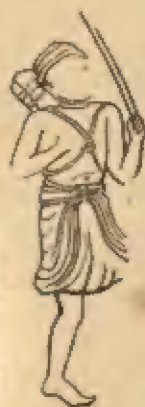
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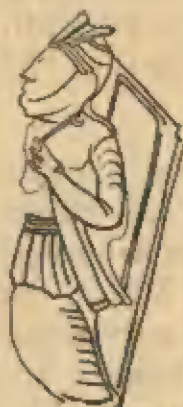
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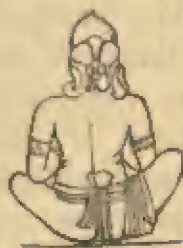
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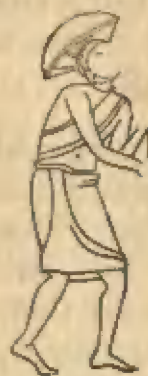
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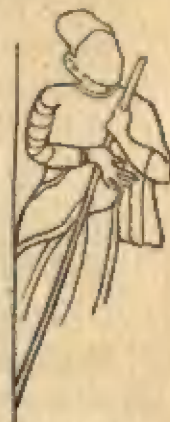
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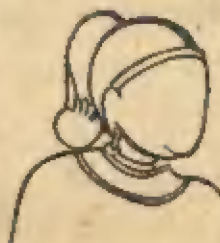
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'kamarband' was passed through two rings worn near the navel (Fig. 5).¹ The soldiers at times wore a turban, full-sleeved tunic and 'dhoti' (Fig. 6).²

In one place³ the back-view of a man worshipping Buddha is represented. It shows how the end of the 'dhoti' was looped and tucked in behind. It also shows how a rosette-like clasp with a string attached to the head-ornament held the latter to its place (Fig. 7).

Dress of the Brāhmaṇas :

The Brāhmaṇas generally wore a loin-cloth with one end tucked in at the side.⁴ A 'dupaṭṭā' was passed transversely over the chest (Fig. 8).

Costume of the Chamberlain :

The chamberlain ('pratihārin') is represented wearing a full-sleeved tunic, a tall cap, and 'dupaṭṭā' passed transversely over the chest (Fig. 9).⁵

Dress of the Women :

The women in the Goli reliefs wear a very thin 'sāri' wrapped round the waist. The hair is arranged in coiffures with head-ornaments. In one place, however, a woman wears what appears to be a cap (Fig. 10).⁶

VII.

Archaeology elucidates certain problems of the costumes of the Gupta period which the contemporary texts have left unexplained or only partially explained. The sculptures however of the Gupta period are not as helpful as the earlier reliefs of Bharhut, Sāñcī, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunī-Koṇḍa and Goli for the study of the life and manners of the people, and incidentally, the costumes worn by the different classes and the foreigners. This partial neglect of the representation of the material aspects of society may be attributed to the new conception of art which divorcing itself from the early realistic tendencies enters the domain of aesthetics. The art of this period becomes a vehicle of the deep religious meditation and contemplation which are the characteristics of both

1. Ib., Pl. IV.

2. Ib., Pl. IV.

3. Ib., Pl. IX. 5.

4. Pl. VI. F.

5. Ib., Pl. II. E.

6. Ib., Pl. III. G.

Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism ; what the art of sculpture loses in drawing away from realism it gains in aesthetic qualities. In the sculptures of the Gupta period we see the beginning of that hieratic art which with its own symbols, costumes and ornaments was destined to endure for a thousand years, and as the years rolled by, the symbols became definitely associated with the images of different gods and goddesses as laid down in the Śilpaśāstras. Fortunately for the students of the social history these rules were largely confined to the stone sculptures only ; the wall painters still continued in the way of their ancestors whereby their works became the mirror of contemporary life and culture. The artists of Ajaṇṭā effected a compromise between the ancient realism and the new principles of aesthetics. The Ajaṇṭā paintings are a veritable encyclopaedia of the costumes of the Gupta age. Our knowledge of the textile materials however is based entirely on literary references. So far the spade of the archaeologist has not unearthed any textile material. The paintings of Ajaṇṭā, however, show the wealth of sewn materials with striped or floral patterns, and the craft of tailoring which had come permanently to stay in Indian culture.

The coins of the Gupta period, distinguished for their historical and artistic value, are also of great assistance in giving us details of the royal costumes of the period. In their minute portraits the dice-makers have preserved for us such details of the costumes which even the wall painters of the period have neglected.

Saka and other Foreign Influences :

Centuries before the establishment of the Gupta power North Western India was subject to the foreign rule of the Sakas, Indo-Greeks and the Kuṣāṇas. The contact of foreign and indigenous culture in different walks of life was conducive to an understanding of the mutual points of view. The opening of the gates of Central Asia by the Sakas and the Kuṣāṇas brought India in contact with the rich culture of China. In the Gupta age the vast expansion of Indian culture beyond the limits of the country made India a centre of many Asiatic nationalities. In the paintings of Ajaṇṭā men of different nationalities—Indians, Afghans, Central Asians, etc.—dressed in the picturesque garbs of their countries paying their respects to the Buddha, have been represented. This crowd

of pilgrims and traders dressed in the characteristic garments of their countries must have to a certain extent influenced the costumes of India. It is evident from Āṇa that new fashions, especially in sewn garments, had come into vogue in the seventh century. This may have been due to the contact of Indian culture with Iran, Afghanistan and also China. This makes the paintings of Ajaṇṭā also a treasure-house for the study of the costumes of the people of neighbouring countries.

The Conventional Costume of the Bodhisattvas at Ajaṇṭā :

The coins of the Gupta age and the Ajaṇṭā paintings are our best sources of information about the costume of the kings and noblemen. At Ajaṇṭā the royal personages are usually depicted wearing a 'dhoti' and their headdresses are elaborate diadems. The turban rarely appears. In the coins, however, the Gupta kings are represented wearing 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā' as well as tunics and trousers. The turban is also worn, but the king going bare-headed seems to have been an usual sight. This difference in the costumes of the kings as represented in the Ajaṇṭā paintings and in the coins may be attributed to the deified nature of the Bodhisattvas depicted at Ajaṇṭā. Herein one may notice the beginning of those medieval traditions with formulated sets of rules for constructing the images of gods. The over-elaborate diadems of the kings as represented at Ajaṇṭā seem to be a step towards that direction ; contemporary literature is strangely silent about them. The Bodhisattvas at Ajaṇṭā with their very elaborate ornaments and tall bejewelled diadems are of one class with the images of Viṣṇu of later date, and hence their costume and ornaments do not necessarily represent the actual costumes and ornaments of the kings of that period. In the 'Harṣacarita', as pointed out elsewhere, the king's costume though made of the best materials was far from showy. This difference in the representation of the kings at Ajaṇṭā and in the Gupta coins enhances the value of the latter from the point of view of the history of costume. In the following pages a description of the costumes of the kings in the Gupta age as revealed by the contemporary paintings and coins is given.

Costumes of the Kings on their Coins : 1. Samudragupta

In the standard type of coins Samudragupta is represented as

wearing a half-sleeved tunic (coat ?) with the pointed ends hanging, and the front is embroidered with beads on both sides (Fig. 11).¹ In most of the coins only two pointed ends of the tunic are shown, but in one of the standard type coins² all the four ends are shown. It could be compared with the tunic worn by the Saka warrior at Mathurā.³ Samudragupta wears trousers not of the loose variety of the 'shalwār' type but of the 'cūṛīdār' type, tight-fitting and creased. His head is covered with a close-fitting cap.

On the other coins of the standard type⁴ the tunic is full-sleeved, not tight fitting but loose and folded near the wrists (Fig. 12). The breeches or may be the 'jaṅghā' type of boots are decorated with a vertical series of round plaques or possibly buttons.

In the third variety of the same type the half-sleeved tunic is combined with tight-fitting shorts ('jāghīā') or a loin-cloth. The full boots ('khallakā' type, see Section V) reaching a little below the knees have their seams decorated with round plaques (Fig. 13).⁵

In the Tiger type of coins the king wears a tight-fitting tunic with rolled up sleeves, twisted 'kamarband', 'dhotī' or shorts reaching the ankles and a turban of Kuṣāṇa type decorated with a plaque (Fig. 14).⁶

In the Candragupta I and Kumāradevi type, Candragupta wears a coat with pointed ends. Its neck is beaded and tasseled, and there is a row of buttons and fasteners in the centre (Fig. 15).⁷ The trousers are creased; the boots are of 'ardhakhallakā' type (see Section V).

From the Lyrist type of Samudragupta's coins⁸ it is evident that the Gupta kings while relaxing from the onerous duties of the state or while enjoying music put on a simple waist-cloth and a close-fitting cap (Fig. 16). That this simple dress was preferred by the Gupta kings in their private life is further supported by the Couch type coins of Candragupta II⁹ in

1. Allan, 'Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda'. London, 1914. Pl. I, 11.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. I, 5.

3. See Agrawala, 'Handbook of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology', Pl. XXI, also Mott Chandra, 'The History of Indian Costume from the 1st. Century to the beginning of the 4th. Century', 'Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art', 1940. p. 202.

4. Allan, loc. cit., Pl. I, 11-18.

5. *Ib.*, Pl. I, 14-17.

7. *Ib.*, Pl. II, 14. See Mott Chandra, loc. cit., Figs. 50-60.

8. *Ib.*, Pl. III, 1.

9. *Ib.*, Pl. V.



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which the king sitting at ease on a high-backed couch holding a flower in his uplifted right hand wears a simple loin-cloth.

2. Candragupta II

In the Archer type of coins¹ King Candragupta II wears a tunic at times secured tight at the waist by a 'kamarband' with an elaborate loop on the left and the ends falling on the ground (Fig. 17). In another variety of the Archer type² the king's dress is simplified to a 'jāghā' or close-fitting shorts in combination with a 'kamarband' looped and tied on the right.

In a Lion Slayer type³ coin the king wears besides a tunic, a 'kamarband', waist-cloth and a helmet with a boss at the top (Fig. 18). Another variety of this helmet (Fig. 19)⁴ is with a beaded decoration at the top.

Candragupta II in the Horseman type of coins⁵ is usually represented as riding a fully caparisoned horse. His costume is made up⁶ of a waist-cloth girt with long sashes fluttering behind (Fig. 20). But at times while riding a horse the king wore a tunic held tight at the waist with a 'kamarband', and a waist-cloth⁷ (Fig. 21).

In one of the copper coins⁸ Candragupta II standing at ease at what appears to be a balcony wears a scarf ('dupaṭṭā') over his shoulders, one end of which he holds daintily in his left hand (Fig. 22).

3. Kumāragupta I

In the time of Kumāragupta I when the Gupta empire attains its maturity a definite national costume is evolved, which discards the trousers and high-boots, etc., vestiges of the Kuṣāṇa costume. Kumāragupta I is generally represented as wearing a tight-fitting tunic with pointed ends and a waist-cloth usually reaching the knees⁹ (Fig. 23), but at times reaching the ankles.⁹ No cap is worn, its place is being taken by an elaborate coiffure; the waist-band is generally looped and tied on the left with the ends fluttering by the side.¹⁰

1. *Ib.*, Pl. VI, 8-9.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. VI, 10-11.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. VII, 13.

4. Pl. VIII, 11.

5. Pl. VIII, 13.

6. *Ib.*, Pl. IX, X.

7. *Ib.*, Pl. X.

8. *Ib.*, Pl. X, 9.

9. *Ib.*, Pl. XI, 11.

10. *Ib.*, Pl. XII, 4.



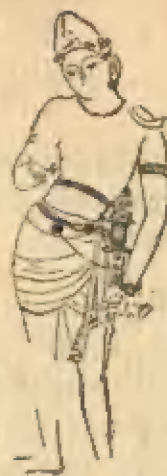
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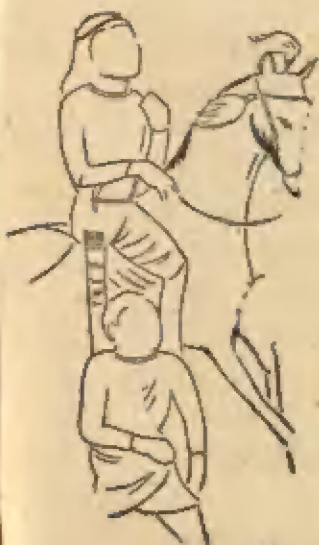
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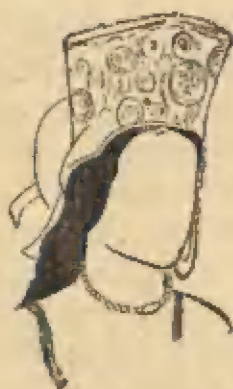
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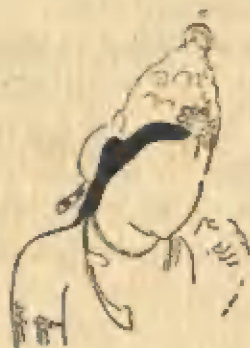
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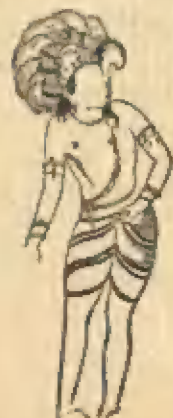
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In the silver coins of Kumāragupta¹ the only interesting point in the costume is the close-fitting cap or bound turban² with upturned brim which reminds us of the Saka caps in Mathurā sculptures (Fig. 24).³

Costumes of the Kings at Ajaṇṭā :

At Ajaṇṭā usually the kings or the high dignitaries wear a very simple costume—the loin-cloth, at times completed with a scarf. The simplicity of the costume is amply compensated by the diadems of exquisite workmanship and jewellery. It is doubtful whether diadems of such complicated design existed in actual use, contemporary literature does not describe them. The portrait coins of the period also do not vouchsafe their use. The possibility is that the diadems of simple designs were actually used, while those with very intricate workmanship were meant for the use of the gods. In Ajaṇṭā such diadems and tiaras are generally worn by the Bodhisattvas.

In one of the Ajaṇṭā paintings⁴ King Bimbisāra wears a white, red and blue striped loin-cloth with a tasseled waist-band. The headdress consists of a turban or cap with neatly piled folds surmounted by a flamboyant 'sarpench' with a circular disc on each side (Fig. 25).

The King of Benares represented at Ajaṇṭā⁵ wears a loin-cloth of very thin material. It is secured to the waist with a belt; the end of the 'paṭkā' falls to the ground. On his left shoulder is a narrow striped scarf. The tall cap is studded with rosettes and stars (Fig. 26).

In another place⁶ the king wears a striped 'dhoti' with one of the panels decorated with regularly placed thick vertical lines. The headdress is perhaps a metallic cap with round discs on the flanks and the top (Fig. 27).

In the Viśvantara Jātaka⁷, Prince Viśvantara while coming out of the palace wears a half-sleeved tight-fitting scarlet tunic, 'dhoti' with a 'kamarband' and a soft, conical cap (Fig. 28). In the same painting seated

1. Ib., Pl. XII, 8.

2. Ib., Pl. XV, 6.

3. Ib., Pl. XVI, 5.

4. Herringham, 'Ajaṇṭā Frescoes', Pl. I, 1 : Cave XVII.

5. Ib., Pl. XXV, 27.

6. Herringham, Ib., Pl. XXII, 24, Cave XVII.

7. Herringham, Ib., Pl. XXIII, 26, Cave XVII.

in the palace and distributing alms to the Brāhmaṇas he wears an elaborate 'mukuta', tight half-sleeved tunic covering the chest, and decorated with a tasseled rosette on the sleeves, a twisted 'dupaṭṭā' worn like the sacred thread ('yajñopavita'), a short loin-cloth and a belt whose ends fall down gracefully (Fig. 29).

In another painting¹ a prince riding a horse wears a full-sleeved tunic, short 'dhoti', and a 'kamarband' with a dagger (Fig. 30).

In one of the Bāgh paintings² the king is shown wearing a striped 'dhoti' and an elaborate square crown (Fig. 31). The crown of the other person in the same scene³ is triangular in shape (Fig. 32).

The conventional representation of the king's costume is best illustrated in the costume of Padmapāṇi.⁴ The jewellery is not profuse but select in type. Apparently the Rājas as depicted at Ajanta are without an upper garment. His loin-cloth is made of striped silk; the white registers between the stripes are often hachured (Fig. 33).

In another place⁵ the figure of Avalokiteśvara is draped in a red and green striped 'dhoti' held in position with a delicate chain belt; the elaborate headdress in the shape of three arches is studded with jewels and profusely chased with elaborate designs (Fig. 34).

Another king in Cave I⁶ wears a waist-cloth decorated with stripes and ladders. The end of the 'dupaṭṭā' falls between his legs. The jewellery he wears is very elegant. There is a sort of strap, perhaps attached to the wall, through which he has put his left hand in a reposeful attitude (Fig. 35). The hair is covered with ribbons.

In Cave I a Nāgarāja is shown wearing what appears to be a crown of delicate workmanship, a striped 'dhoti' and a belt tied in several rounds on the right (Fig. 36).⁷

In Cave XVII⁷ a prince wears a 'mukuta' of very elaborate workmanship, and 'dhoti' with a belt. The ends of the 'kamarband' hang down (Fig. 37).

1. Herringham, *Ib.*, Pl. VIII (10), Cave XVII.

2. Marshall and Others, 'The Bāgh Caves', London, 1927. Pl. B.

3. *Ib.*

4. Yashwanth, 'Ajanta', part I, Pls. XXIV, Cave I : Herringham, Pl. XI, 13.

5. Herringham, *loc. cit.*, Pl. X, 12. Cave I.

6. Herringham, *Ib.*, Pl. X : 12.

7. Griffiths, 'Ajanta', Vol. I.



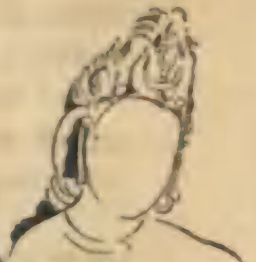
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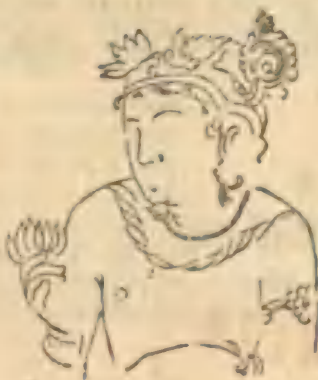
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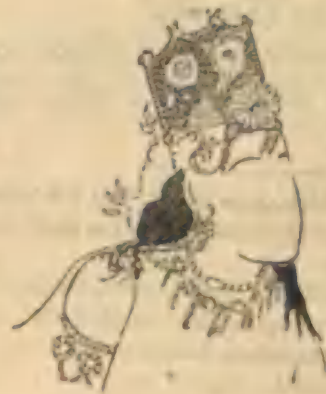
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A Foreign King :

A king of foreign origin, probably Iranian,¹ seated on a diwan, wears a long coat of pale blue broad-cloth, the collar, armbands and cuffs of which are of lighter colour and probably embroidered. The cap is hemispherical and tasseled. He wears soft leather boots (Fig. 38).²

Any description of the costume of the princes in the Ajantā paintings would be inadequate without mentioning their headdresses of exquisite workmanship, though it is doubtful whether such headdresses were actually in use. We give below the description of choice specimens.

The headdress of a prince in Cave XVII³ is conical with slightly curved sides. The decoration consists of medallions, beads and flowers. It is profusely set with jewels (Fig. 39).

Another headdress of a prince in Cave XVII⁴ is flamboyant and seems to be attached to a turban (Fig. 40).⁵

In Cave XVII⁶ the princes wear two remarkable headdresses. A conical headdress is profusely set with jewels and pearl chains are attached to it (Fig. 41). In another headdress slightly triangular in shape there are crescents and circle decorations. Pearl strings are attached to it and the projecting sides are scalloped (Fig. 42).

In Cave I⁷ the prince wears a triangular diadem of very elaborate workmanship. The decoration consists of circles, fully expanded flowers, rosettes within circles, etc. It is tied at the back with ribbons whose ends are visible (Fig. 43).

In Cave I⁸ the headdress of the prince is made of a broad band divided into compartments and set with jewels. The band is mounted with projections, two of which are visible. The shape of one is similar to a 'caitya' window surmounted with three 'āmalakīs'. The central

1. Yārdani, loc. cit., L Pl. XXXIX (Fig. 39).

2. *Ib.*, p. 50.

3. Herringham, Pl. XVI, 18.

4. Herringham, Pl. XXXIX (48).

5. *Ib.*, Pl. XXIV, 26.

6. *Ib.*, Pl. XXVI, 28.

7. *Ib.*, Pl. XI, 18.

8. *Ib.*, Pl. XIV, 16.

projection is roughly triangular in shape and decorated with a rosette (Fig. 44).

The diadem of another prince in Cave I¹ may be described as triangular with meandering sides. It is decorated with flowers and jewelled panels and is flanked with round discs. Pearl strings are attached from the discs to the top of the diadem. It is also tied at the back with ribbons (Fig. 45).

In Cave II² the headdress is close-fitting like a cap, surmounted however with a spiralic decoration on the left and also with a full blown lotus (Fig. 46).

The headdress of a prince in cave IX³ is cylindrical with a meander-top. It is decorated with beaded circles and two full blown flowers (Fig. 47).

Summary:

The costumes of the kings and princes depicted in Gupta coins and Ajañtā paintings thus were as follows :

A. After the fashion of the Saka rulers the kings wore a tunic with loose sleeves folded half way, with pointed ends, trousers not of the loose 'shalwār' type but of 'cūridār' type, and a close-fitting cap. The loose-sleeved tunic was often rolled up at the wrists. The sleeves and breeches were frequently decorated with a vertical series of round plaques or possibly buttons. Sometimes a 'jāghīā' was worn in combination with the tunic and full boots decorated with round plaques. Sometimes the king wore a tunic with rolled up sleeves in combination with a 'dhoti' reaching the ankles, a twisted 'kamarband' and a turban of Kuṣāṇa type. In the Candragupta I and Kumāradevi type of coins the king is represented as wearing a coat with buttons and fasteners in the centre.

B. At the time of relaxation the king ordinarily wore a simple 'dhoti' and a close-fitting cap.

C. In Candragupta II's time the tunic is often secured with a 'kamarband' with a loop on the left and the ends falling on the ground. Elsewhere the king is represented wearing a 'jāghīā' with the combination of a 'kamarband' looped and tied on the right.

In the Lion Slayer type coins the costume of the king generally has a tunic, waist-band and a helmet.

1. *Ib.*, Pl. XV, 7.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. XI, 49.

3. Griffiths, 'Ajañtā', Vol. I.

D. In the time of Kumāragupta I a national costume seems to have been evolved, which discards the trousers and boots. The king is generally shown wearing a tight-fitting tunic and 'kamarband' and a short 'dhoti'.

E. In Ajanṭā, however, the king rarely wears any sewn garment. This may be due, as already observed, to the setting up of a convention in art by which the gods have a costume distinct from that of man.

The costumes of the soldiers, state officers, chieftains, servants, dancers, etc., will now be described.

Costumes of the Horsemen :

In Cave I, Ajanṭā¹, a horseman conversing with a 'yogi' is depicted (Fig. 48). He wears a full-sleeved tunic on which appear black dots reminding us of the application of 'agaru' paste to the tunic, as mentioned by Bāṇa.² The ends of the 'dupaṭṭā' flutter at the back, and the hair is tied with a ribbon.

In the painting depicting the Battle of Ceylon³ the cavalymen wear half-sleeved tight-fitting jackets covering the chest only and close-fitting shorts. The sleeves and necks seem to be embroidered (Fig. 49).

In another scene in Cave XVII⁴ the two riders wear tunics with V-shaped neck. The shading on the collars indicates that perhaps they were made of fur. The cap of the horseman on the left is dome-shaped with a crenellated up-turned rim and bow at the top (Fig. 50). From their dress and general physiognomy they appear to be either of Iranian or Hun extraction.

In another scene in Cave XVII⁵ one of the two horsemen in the foreground to the left wears a full sleeved white coat open in front, while his companion has a full-sleeved tight tunic with pointed ends, trousers and full boots (Fig. 51). The nature of an upper garment whose one end is visible cannot however be determined.

1. Harringham, loc. cit., Pl. VI, 3.

2. 'Harṣacarita', Tr. Cowell, p. 16.

3. Harringham, loc. cit., Pl. XVII, 19.

4. Harringham, Pl. XXII, 24.

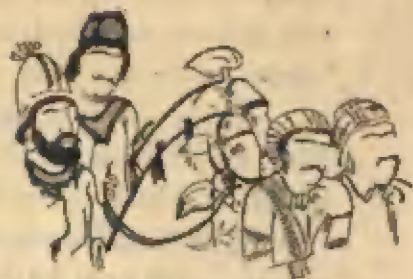
5. Ib., Pl. VIII, 10.



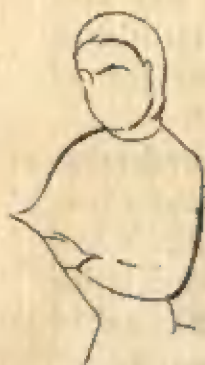
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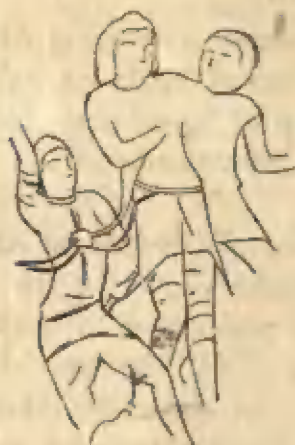
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In one of the paintings in Cave XVII¹ depicting the 'Mātripoṣaka Jātaka' in the foreground to the left is a rider who wears a pale indigo blue full-sleeved coat with a very broad collar (Fig. 52). •

It is however at Bagh that we find the fullest representation of the cavalry with its members dressed in tunics of varied patterns. In Plate F of 'The Bagh Caves' (Fig. 53)² a cavalcade of at least seventeen horsemen is seen moving towards the left in five or six rows. The chief person who seems to be the cavalier in the middle wears a blue dotted yellowish tunic. On the right of the principal figure another rider wears a greenish tunic made of chequered cloth with a flower in the centre of each compartment. It is difficult to say whether the chequers represent some pattern or the cross stitches of a thick padded tunic. If the latter be true, than this particular kind of tunic may represent the ancient 'vārabāṇa' or some such article of wear. Above this figure a rider on a green horse wears a yellowish tunic. To the left of the chief personage rides a man in a yellowish tunic; the man next to him wears an ochre-coloured coat and yellowish cap relieved with little blue ornaments. The vanguard is made up of three soldiers, two on horseback and a third on foot. One of the horsemen wears a yellow tunic decorated with patterns somewhat resembling birds in shape.

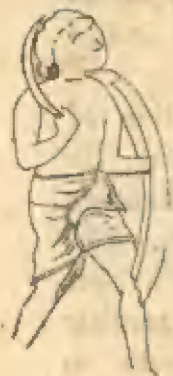
The third row is made up of four horsemen. One of them wears a blue tunic with a V-shaped opening at the neck and yellow trousers. The person riding to his right wears a yellow robe dotted over with small lozenges, a very common motif in tie-dyed fabrics, known as 'pulaka-bandha' in Bāṇa's time.

The tunic of the first man of the four riders making up the rear is yellow. The tunic of the second is striped and that of the third blue. The fourth wears a white robe marked with rosettes over what appears to be a full-sleeved blue jacket.

All the persons of this stately cavalcade wear long-sleeved tunics reaching half way down the thighs and a curious kind of headdress

1. Copy in the Prince of Wales Museum.

2. Marshall, loc. cit.



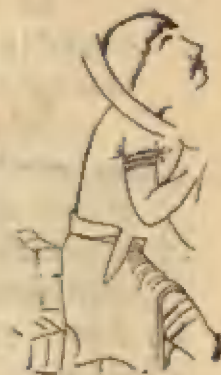
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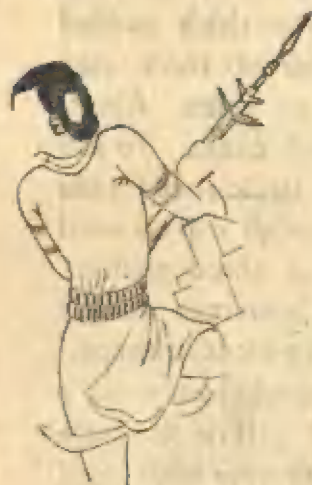
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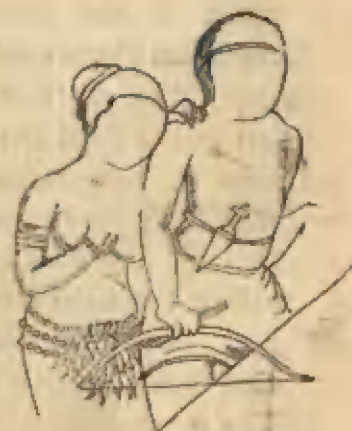
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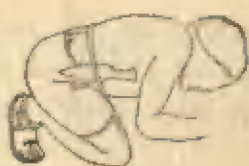
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usually white or yellow and sometimes relieved with blue flowerets and hanging down from the back of the head. The picture recalls to our mind the description of the chieftains on horses' accompanying Harṣa in the 'Harṣacarita' of Bāṇa.¹

Elephant Drivers :

The elephant drivers were often dressed in short half-sleeved jackets decorated with plain borders on the V-shaped neck, the lower part and the sleeve ends (Fig. 54) and shorts.² They wore however often also full-sleeved tunics. At one place in Cave XVII³ the elephant driver wears a full-sleeved tunic, his hair being covered with a scarf or close-fitting skull-cap (Fig. 55). Elephant drivers as represented in Bagh paintings have golden striped shorts with the rest of the body devoid of any clothing.⁴

Costume of the Foot-soldiers :

In one of the paintings of Cave XVII⁵ the soldiers are dressed in a short waist-cloth (Fig. 56); sometimes scarves are tied round their heads (Fig. 57). In Cave XVII, in the Battle of Ceylon,⁶ a typical foot-soldier is dressed in a loin-cloth and half-sleeved tight-fitting jacket covering the chest only, whose round neck, buttons and sleeve are braided ; the hair is tied with a strip of cloth (Fig. 58).

In Cave XVII⁷ a sword-bearer is shown wearing a half-sleeved tight tunic with pointed ends reaching the knees ; the waist is tied with a 'kamarband' (Fig. 59). In the same scene the spear-bearer wears a half-sleeved tunic and also the sword-bearer ; his 'kamarband' however is tied in two rounds (Fig. 60). In Cave I⁸ a soldier wears a tunic made of material decorated with a leaf pattern. In Cave I a shield-bearer⁹ proceeding from the left wears a scarf covering the shoulders and knotted in front.

1. 'Harṣacarita', p. 202 ; for other references to the costume of the riders, see Section I.

2. Yazdani, loc. cit., Part II, Pl. XIV.

3. Herringham, Pl. XIX, 21.

4. Marshall, loc. cit., Pl. G.

5. Herringham, loc. cit., Pl. VIII, 10.

6. Ib., Pl. XVII, 19.

7. Ib., Pl. XXXVIII, 46.

8. Yazdani, loc. cit., Part I, Pl. XIV.

9. Ib., Pl. XIV.

Costumes of the Kings and Nobles in the Battlefield :

The princes, the kings in the battlefield as depicted in the Battle of Ceylon¹ wear a tight half-sleeved tunic and an elaborate headdress made of a combination of turban and 'sarpench' (Fig. 61).

Costumes of Hunters and Trappers :

Ordinary 'hunters and trappers as depicted in the 'Mātṛpoṣaka Jātaka' in Cave XVII² wear short 'dhotīs'; their hair is bound with a ribbon. In the representation of the 'Chaddanta Jātaka' in the same cave³ the trappers who appear to be members of some wild tribe wear shorts with belts to which small daggers are attached (Fig. 62). Very interesting is the design of the 'chappal' worn by one of the trappers paying his obeisance to the captured elephant (Fig. 63). A typical forester with a stick, bows and arrows wearing a waistcloth is also seen in the same painting (Fig. 64). In the 'Śaṅkhapāla Jātaka'⁴ on the right, a hunter dragging a serpent by means of a rope wears a chequered loin-cloth (Fig. 65); the design on the loin-cloth of another hunter is also interesting—the dark brown stripes being decorated with arrow-headlike designs or, may be, flying birds in singles and doubles (Fig. 66).

Hunting Costume :

The hunting costume of men of position was however quite different. In Cave XVII⁵ the hunter on the ground holding the bow wears a half-sleeved tight jacket opening in front and reaching to the waist. Over this he wears a white full-sleeved tunic reaching half-way to the thighs ; its lower edges seem to be trimmed with a gold border. He also has white trousers and boots (Fig. 51). His companion is clad in a tunic with pointed ends. Over the tunic some other garment is worn of which one pointed end is visible.

1. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XVII, 19. Cave XVII.

2. Copy in the Prince of Wales Museum ; Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XX, 21.

3. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XXVII, 29.

4. Yasdani, *Loc. cit.*, Pt. I, Pl. XI.

5. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. VIII, 10.

Costume of the Chamberlain :

In Cave XVII¹ the black coloured chamberlain wears a flat turban of twisted cloth. Over the white full-sleeved tunic a 'chādar' is passed transversely across the chest. It is decorated with a fish-scale pattern (Fig. 67).

In the painting of the Lustration of the King, in Cave I², an old chamberlain is depicted. He wears a long full-sleeved tunic with a V-shaped neck; the skirt of the tunic is gathered and tucked in in the 'kamarband' ; he also wears a red-striped waist-cloth (Fig. 68).

Costume of the Ministers of State :

The minister of state depicted in one of the paintings of Cave XVII³ wears a white full-sleeved tunic and 'chādar'. His head is uncovered. Apparently he wears full boots of 'khalakā' type (Fig. 69). In the 'Śibi Jātaka'⁴ in the scene depicting the king in agony after he had parted with his eyes to Indra there is a minister or may be nobleman wearing a half-sleeved jacket with the sleeves embroidered with circles and chequers and trimmed with pearls over which a 'dupaṭṭā' is thrown transversely. Another twisted scarf with a central clasp is worn like a 'yajñopavīta'. A ribbon to which flowers are stuck is tied round the hair (Fig. 70).

Costumes of Chieftains and People of Higher Social Status :

As the costume of the kings was extremely simple except for the head-dress of elaborate workmanship, that of chieftains or highly placed people was similar but for the very elaborately worked headdresses, which seem to have been used exclusively by the kings and princes of royal blood. The simplicity of this class of costume however is amply compensated by the artistic mode of wearing it. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to give a picture of the costumes of this class and the modes of wearing them.

1. *Ib.*, Pl. XXV, 28.

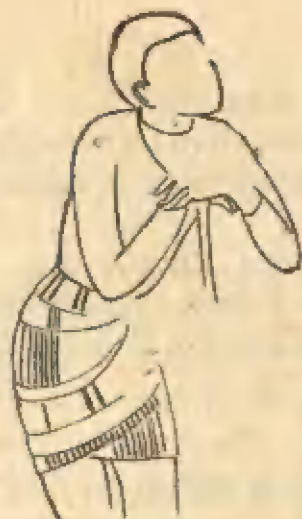
2. *Herringham, Loc. cit.*, Pl. XII, 14.

3. *Herringham, Ib.*, Pl. XXV, 27.

4. *Herringham, Ib.*, Pl. XXXIX, 47. Cave XVII.



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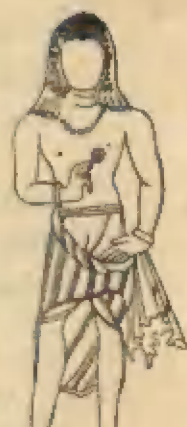
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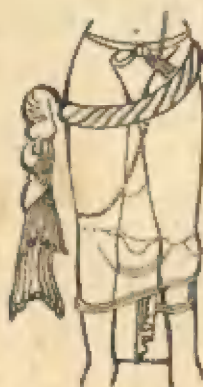
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In one of the terracotta plaques from Mīrpurkhas¹ a nobleman of the Gupta period is depicted (Fig. 71). He wears what appears to be shorts over which a 'dhoti' is wrapped so that the front reaches only the knee while the back part reaches a little above the ankles. A loose twisted 'kamarband' is tied round the waist with its two knotted ends hanging on the left. The wrapping of the waist-cloth over the shorts appears to have been a common practice in this age. Thus a nobleman depicted in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā² is shown wearing a short waist-band over the shorts, the right end of which peeps out of the waist-band cover (Fig. 72). The neatly tied 'paṭkā' has its ends hanging down to the ground on the left. A scarf with a clasp is worn like a 'yajñopavīta' across the chest. This may be the 'vaikakṣya'.

In the now headless statue of Śiva from the Samlaji Hills, Idar State³, the costume is typically that of a man of status. The 'dhoti' reaches a little above the ankles with the pleated end falling gracefully in front. The twisted 'kamarband' at the waist is arranged in three loops. The ends of the 'kamarband' seem to be pleated and visible on both sides (Fig. 73). In another image of Śiva from Idar State⁴ Śiva's 'dhoti' reaching the ankles is tied with a belt. A loose 'kamarband' encircles the thighs (Fig. 74). At Mandor in Jodhpur State⁵ on a pillar on which is depicted the episode of Kṛṣṇa lifting Govardhana Kṛṣṇa wears a 'dhoti' reaching a little above the ankle (Fig. 75). It is fixed with a belt to which is attached a 'kamarband' with meandering folds in front, and which is looped and knotted on the right.

In the famous Varāha relief in Cave No. 5 of Udayagiri in Gwalior State the Ocean-god (Samudra) is appropriately dressed like a nobleman of the period.⁶ Besides 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā' covering the shoulders he wears a turban with a heart-shaped decorative plaque reminiscent of

1. A.S.I., Ann. Rep., 1909-10, Pl. XXXVIII (b).

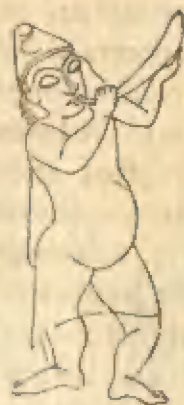
2. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XLI, 55.

3. Inamdar, 'Some Archaeological Finds in the Idar State', Pl. I, 1, Ahmedabad, 1936.

4. *Ib.*, Pl. II, 5.

5. A.S.I., Ann. Rep., 1905-1906, p. 130.

6. 'Ann. Rep., of the Archaeological Department', Gwalior State 1929-30, Pl. V.



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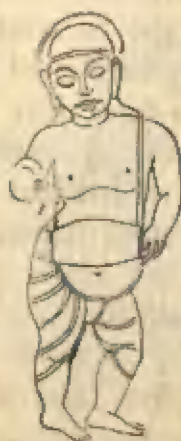
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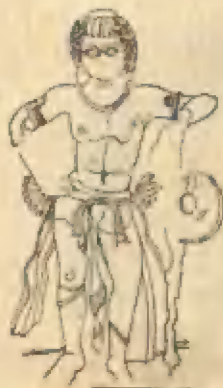
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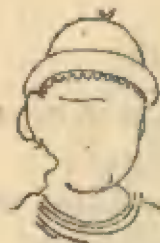
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the Kuṣāṇa period turban in Mathurā sculptures. In the image of Avalokiteśvara from Sārnāth¹ the graceful manner is noteable of wearing a simple attire such as 'dhoti' and 'kamarband'. Avalokiteśvara's lower part is covered by a 'dhoti', the pleated end of which hangs down between the feet. It is secured to the waist with a richly jewelled belt tied into a loop below the navel. Over the waist we notice a twisted scarf passed round the thighs in a loose fashion and tied up in a knot behind the right forearm, the ends falling down gracefully along the right leg (Fig. 76).

In Cave XVII² in the 'Question of Sāriputra' a nobleman or a high dignitary of the state is depicted on the left. He wears a vertically striped 'dhoti' and 'chādar' covering the chest and passed over the left shoulder. The neat little spiral-shaped turban is flanked with a golden disc decorated with a rosette (Fig. 77).

An image of Mañjuśrī from Sārnāth dating back to the end of the seventh century³ is dressed in a 'dhoti' reaching below the knees with one end pleated and tucked in on the left. There is an elaborate chain round the waist and a belt is worn over the navel whose rope-like ends are passed through a ring and hang on the right thigh (Fig. 78).

Costumes of Musicians :

In the reliefs at Bhumara, a temple of the Gupta period,⁴ a musician playing the trumpet wears a conical cap tilted at the top, a tunic with pointed ends reaching below the knees and trousers (Fig. 79).⁵ Another musician playing on an hour-glass-shaped drum wears a conical cap, a coat embroidered in front and trousers (Fig. 80).⁶ The singer appears to be dressed in a half-sleeved jacket⁷ and a 'dhoti' tucked in behind (Fig. 81).

1. Sahni, 'Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath', Pl. XIII (b), p. 118.

2. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XLII, 56.

3. Sahni, *Loc. cit.*, pp. 120-121, Pl. XIII, C.

4. Bannerjee, 'The Śiva Temples at Bhumara', *Mém. Arch. Sur. Indis.*, Calcutta, 1924.

5. *Ib.*, Pl. X.

6. *Ib.*

7. *Ib.*

Another musician playing a 'surnai'-type of instrument wears a slightly conical cap (Fig. 82). The drummer's cap is hemispherical (Fig. 83). The dancer's cap has a fringed end (Fig. 84).

In Cave XVII¹ the musician with folded hands in the flying group wears a waist-cloth with grey and white stripes; the 'kamarband' matching the waist-cloth is pleasingly decorated with grey and green stripes. Another musician in the same cave² wears a loin-cloth decorated with green meanders on white ground.

The most interesting costume of a male musician is however that of a 'vīṇā' player who carries his instrument on his shoulder.³ He wears the usual 'dhoti' held secure with a 'kamarband' and belt. A scarf is tied round the neck. The free ends of the 'kamarband' and the scarf flutter in the wind. Garlands are tied round the hair dressed in topknots (Fig. 85).

Costumes of Door-keepers :

The door-keepers in the Gupta age wore their costume sewn or otherwise beautifully arranged. Thus the 'Dvārapāla' in Cave No. 6 at Udayagiri has a simple 'dhoti' with the pleated end hanging in front and held to the waist with a belt knotted below the navel. He wears his 'kamarband' very gracefully, parts of it being passed around the waist and arranged in fan-shape on each side of the waist (Fig. 86).⁴

At Ajanṭā, however, the door-keepers are often shown wearing sewn garments. Thus in Cave I⁵ the door-keeper has a long-sleeved tunic of white and black checks which is tightened round the belt by a broad girdle. In Cave I⁶ behind Uggasena, stands a guard wearing a peaked cap with upturned brim (Fig. 87) and a long coat with tight sleeves; the coat seems to have been made of silk; it has a pale ground bearing floral patterns. This, according to Yazdani, could be 'kimkhab'.⁷ In

1. Harringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. II, 2.

2. *Ib.*, Pl. II.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXVI, 40.

4. 'Ann. Report Arch. Dept., Gwalior State', 1928-29. Pl. B. Cave No. 6.

5. Yazdani *Loc. cit.*, Part I, Pl. I.

6. *Ib.*, Pl. XXXV.

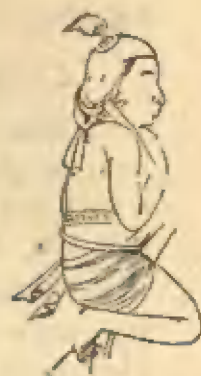
7. Yazdani, *Ib.*, Part I, p. 42, fig. 2.



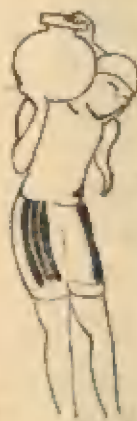
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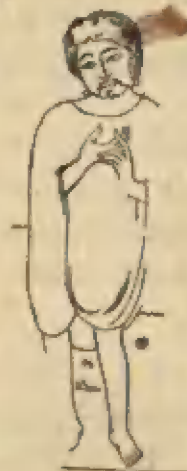
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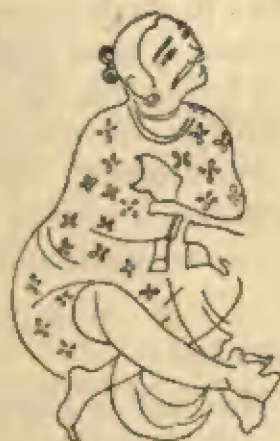
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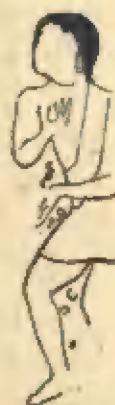
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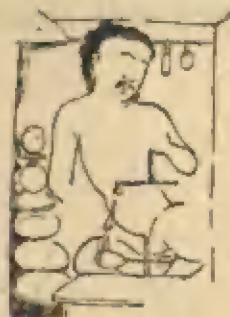
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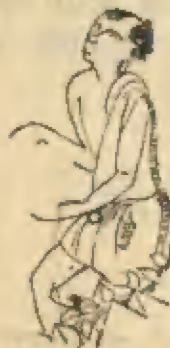
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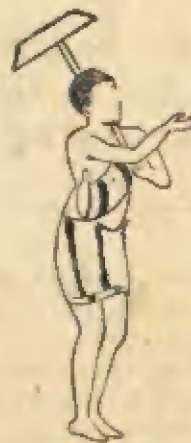
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Cave II¹ the guard wears an embroidered coat with tight sleeves reaching a little below the hips (Fig. 88).

Costumes of the Royal Attendants :

The royal servants and attendants at Ajanṭā are generally depicted wearing sewn garments or the simple 'dhoti'. In Cave XVII² an attendant on the left side of the Buddha wears a loin-cloth with 'chārkāna' pattern (Fig. 89). In Cave I³ in the famous Avalokiteśvara painting, the attendant with the flower tray wears a tunic with deep brown stripes and a tiara of very delicate workmanship (Fig. 90). A man-servant depicted in Cave I⁴ wears a tunic on which a very complex pattern is worked out. The patterns are treated in bands and consist of rosettes, circles within compartments and chevron (Fig. 91). In another scene in Cave I⁵ the attendant seated on the ground wears a tunic made of silver brocade with floral designs worked out in dark brown (Fig. 92).

While following their lords on war or in procession the attendants wore costumes appropriate to the occasion. Thus an attendant seated behind an elephant⁶ in the 'Battle of Ceylon' wears a plumed helmet, short half-sleeved jacket and short 'dhoti' tied at the waist with a 'kamarband' (Fig. 93).

Dress of the Bathroom-attendant :

The bathroom-attendant depicted in Cave I⁷ wears a short red striped 'dhoti' and over it a thin covering cloth ; the head is covered with a scarf (Fig. 94).

Dress of the Common People :

We have so far been describing the costumes of kings, chieftains, servants, soldiers, etc., but little has been said about the costume

1. Yazdani, *Ib.*, Part II, Pl. XXV, p. 25.

2. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XLII (56).

3. *Ib.*, Pl. X, 12.

4. Yazdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, p. 9, Pl. VII (b).

5. *Ib.*, Part I, p. 41. Pl. XXXIV, b.

6. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, XLII, 5 ; also XXXVII, 43.

7. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XII (14).

of the common people. It is quite reasonable to assume that the costume of the men on the street was quite simple, consisting of 'dhoti', 'dupaṭṭā' and turban, as today. The common crowd is shown in one of the paintings of Ajanta depicting the Viśvantara Jātaka in Cave XVII.¹ In this scene three types of the dress of the common people can be distinguished : (a) a short 'dhoti' with the 'chādar' covering the whole body (Fig. 95) ; (b) a full 'dhoti' with a striped 'kamarband' embroidered at the upper end, centre and sides (Fig. 96) and (c) a short loin-cloth and a sash passed transversely on the chest (Fig. 97). The shop-keeper saluting Viśvantara wears a short cloth over the loin-cloth suspended at the waist with a chain belt (Fig. 98). Another shop-keeper pouring oil from a ladle wears shorts (Fig. 99).

Dress of the Brāhmaṇas :

The Brāhmaṇas usually wear a short 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā' (Fig. 100).² In Cave I a Brāhmaṇa is shown wearing a flapped cap (kaṇṭhapa).³ Another Brāhmaṇa holding an umbrella wears his striped 'dupaṭṭā' transversely on the chest (Fig. 101).⁴

Costumes of the Court Jesters :

As is well known from Sanskrit dramas the 'Vidūṣakas' or court jesters usually accompanied the kings in ancient India to please them with witty remarks and tomfoolery. In Cave I⁵ the jester making love to a woman wears a full sleeved tunic and the 'paṭkā' with its both ends united. In Cave II⁶ he wears 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā'. At another place in the same cave⁷ the darkish figure of the jester wears a very long tunic decorated with a star pattern and held at the waist with a girdle. He also wears a lower garment, which may either be a 'dhoti' or trousers ; they are visible on or below his knees. The feet are covered with striped boots

1. Ib., Pl. XXXIX, 48. Cave XVII.

2. Ib., Pl. XXXIX.

3. Yasdani, Loc. cit., Part I, Pl. XXXV.

4. Herringham, Ib., Pl. XIII, 15. Cave I.

5. Herringham, Ib., Pl. XL, 59.

6. Yasdani, Loc. cit., Part II, Pl. XI, b.

7. Ib., Pl. XXIV, p. 22.

(Fig. 102). In another place¹ the jester wears a shirt and 'dupaṭṭā' passed round his back and shoulders, both falling short to cover his unshapely belly. Sometimes the jesters are shown playing with one another or enjoying music. In Cave I (Copy in the Prince of Wales Museum ; Fig. 103) a couple of jesters are shown. The one on the left wears a domed cap decorated with a sprig, and a 'dhoti'. He has put his sash round the neck of his companion and is pulling it. The second jester on whom the joke is being practised wears a skull cap and 'dhoti'. Dr. Agrawala in a very informative article² tells us that in the time of Bāṇabhaṭṭa at festival occasions people practised jokes upon old chamberlains by tying their silken upper garments round the neck of the chamberlains and dragging them on. This practice is illustrated by a terracotta panel of the Gupta period in the Mathurā Museum in which a woman is shown dragging a jester by the scarf put round his neck.³ Dr. Agrawala quotes another passage from 'Nāgānanda', a Sanskrit drama of the 7th century, in which a 'ceṭa' pulls a scarf thrown round the neck of the jester who wants to run away. Perhaps our scene from Ajaṇṭā illustrates the 'ceṭa' and jester. Originally, as Dr. Agrawala suggests, the idea might have developed from the Pāli 'celukkhepa', i. e. the waving of the upper garment as a token of joy ; the upper cloth was taken off the shoulders for this purpose and waved. A representation of 'celukkhepa' occurs in the reliefs of Bharhut.

This method of cracking a joke is also to be found in the Kuṣāṇa sculptures of Mathurā. On a pillar depicting the story of Nanda and Sundarī in the Mathurā Museum a woman drags a jester by his scarf.

At another place in Cave I a jester wearing a full 'dhoti' and tunic plays on a 'viṇā'. His female companion who wears a domed cap decorated with a sprig plays the cymbals (Fig. 104).

Snake-charmer's Costume :

In Cave I⁴ a snake-charmer is represented wearing a short 'dhoti' decorated with vertical blue bands and horizontal red stripes. A 'dupaṭṭā' tied at the chest is of the same design (Fig. 105).

1. *Ib.*, XXXV, p. 35.

2. 'A Palace scene on a Terracotta panel from Mathurā', *JISOA.*, 1942, pp 69-74.

3. *Ib.*, p. 73.

4. *Yardani, ib.*, Pl. X, B.



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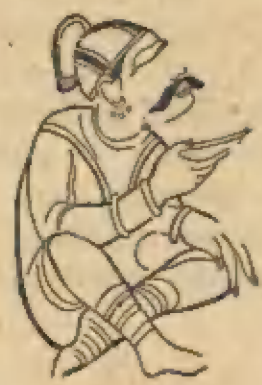
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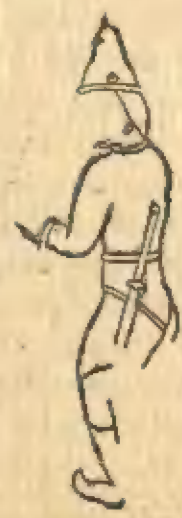
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Costumes of Foreigners :

In the Gupta period cultural relations between India and the other countries of Asia specially China and Iran expanded to a great extent. A visible proof of this is given in the Ajañtā paintings in which Iranians of the Sasanian period appear several times. It is difficult to say in the present state of our knowledge whether these figures represent indigenous Iranians or whether they represent the members of the Iranian speaking world of Tajikistan and the Pamirs whose Buddhist leanings and consequent pilgrimages to India are well known. The contact between the colonial Indian civilization of Central Asia which had imbibed the cultural heritage of India and was greatly influenced by the age old culture of China can be studied in the paintings of Ajañtā and the frescoes and banner paintings from the ruins and caves of Central Asia. We are not concerned here with the journey of Indian motifs from Ajañtā to Central Asia and the infiltration of certain Chinese motifs to India through the pilgrim travellers and other cultural and military contacts. The problem which concerns us in this article is the visible influence of Central Asiatic costume on Indian costume. That the influence was not negligible is apparent from the frequent use of caps, tunics and boots by people in the Ajañtā paintings.

We have been stressing the point in our previous articles¹ that sewn garments were not unknown even in the Vedic age, though owing to the hot climatic conditions in India in the major part of the year the dress was very simple, consisting of 'dhoti', 'dupaṭṭā', and turban. In the succeeding periods and till the 3rd. century A.D. we have noticed the types of sewn garments and their use, which was confined to servants, foreigners, soldiers, hunters, etc. In the first century A.D. however, with the advent of the Kuṣāṇas the fashion of wearing sewn garments of Central Asiatic patterns seems to have made headway among all classes of Indians. This fact is amply testified by Gupta portrait coins, in which the kings are represented wearing Kuṣāṇa costume, sometimes in entirety and sometimes in combination with certain articles of indigenous

1. JISOA, Vol. VIII.

wear. In the Ajantā paintings, however, sewn garments are worn specially by servants, soldiers and the like, and occasionally by the princes and princesses, whose costumes are otherwise perfectly indigenous in type. Such sewn garments have been described in their proper places. In the following pages an attempt is made to describe the actual costume of the foreigners who appear in the Ajantā paintings.

In Cave XVII, in the painting of the 'Question of Sāriputra' a number of foreigners, apparently of Iranian descent, have congregated. On the left hand top of the picture an Iranian with folded hands rides an elephant. He wears a tunic with sleeves, cuffs and the front beautifully embroidered. Its embellishment consists of plain bands with the last band on each side being decorated with solid triangles facing outside. The decoration in front is made up of vertical criss-crossed panels lined with solid triangles (Fig. 106). Another rider wears a full-sleeved tunic with a V-shaped neck decorated on either side with a claw-pattern. The arm-band is decorated with scales and leaves (Fig. 107).² The soldiers of Iranian extraction go in tunics.³ In the same scene the soldier on the left wears a tunic with a broad triangular collar. The armlets may be of fur. The second soldier wears a striped tunic with a round collar (Fig. 108).

Then there is a fat attendant apparently of foreign origin with a humorous face. He wears a combination of cap and turban ; the latter is made of some striped material. His tunic has a V-shaped collar decorated with bands of dental pattern and meanders ; the embroidery on the arm-bands consists of solid triangles with circles encased in the centre between several bands. The tunic is secured to the waist with several folds of a 'kamarband' (Fig. 109).

A foreigner depicted in Cave II⁴ (Fig. 110), apparently an Iranian, wears a skull-cap with streamers fluttering behind. The coat and trousers are tight and he wears hose marked with blue stripes. A scarf

1. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XXII (24).

2. *Ib.*

3. *Ib.*

4. Yazdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part II, Pl. XI. a. p. 9.

appears to be tied round the neck, for its borders are seen fluttering at the back. In another place in Cave II¹ the material of the lower garment which the foreigner wears has a striped design in which the figures of ducks are interwoven.

The Costume of the Foreigners probably Syrians in the so-called Persian Embassy Scene at Ajaṇṭā :

The most interesting type of foreign costume is however found in the so-called representation of a court scene in Cave I which was formerly identified as representing a Persian embassy. There has been much controversy among scholars in the identification of this scene. One group recognised in the scene the embassy of the Persian king Khusrau to the Cālukyan Rāja Pulakeśin in the beginning of the 7th. century ; the other group saw very little chance in the Buddhist paintings of Ajaṇṭā of the representation of a purely secular scene, and therefore suggested that it was some unknown Jātaka scene. Both were however agreed about the distinctive foreign type of the people giving presents and their costume. The view that it is a Jātaka scene seems to be probable. A similar scene is sculptured at Amarāvati and has been identified by C. Sivaramamurti² as the 'Presents of King Bandhuma' (Introduction to the Vessantara Jātaka). In this scene the king is seated on the throne attended by two female 'chauri'-bearers and a fan-bearer standing behind him. On the left is seated the royal consort on a 'moṛhā' attended by two 'chauri' bearers and other maid-servants. In the foreground are four men dressed in tunics, trousers, 'kamarband' and full boots, kneeling on the floor and offering presents to the king. On the right is a concourse of high dignitaries of state in which the figure of the leader of the delegation attired in a tunic and turban is offering a pearl necklace to the king. At the door a horse and an elephant are seen. Another foreigner wearing a very long tunic stands at the door and seems to be a member of the group of foreigners. At Ajaṇṭā, the so-called scene of the Persian embassy is almost a duplicate of this scene. A party

1. Yazdani, *Ib.*, Part II, Pl. XX, p. 19.

2. 'Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Museum', Pl. XXV, 6 ; pp. 224-25.

of foreigners is seen at the gate two of whom have entered the hall with presents. The court is full of dignitaries and three foreigners are among them. The Rāja in the centre is seated at ease on the throne ; behind him stand fan and fly whisk bearers and there are other attendants on the left side.¹ The similarity between the Amarāvati and Ajanṭā scenes is so close that very little doubt is left that both the scenes represent the same episode.² It is possible that the setting of these two scenes might have been borrowed from contemporary court scenes at which at times foreign embassies and merchants presented themselves to deliver gifts.

In the court scene at Ajanṭā³ (Fig. 111) the foreigner in front is presenting a pearl ornament to the Rāja. He is described by Yazdani as wearing a peaked cap of striped silk or broad-cloth, and his long coat (qaba) is of the same material. Judging from the photographic reproduction however, he seems to be wearing two distinctive garments,—a long striped shirt and a coat whose V-shaped neck is distinctly visible. Near the right hand of the figure are two ribbons which possibly served as fasteners of the coat. There is also a belt. Below the waist the figure is represented as white with no trace of stripes ; the possibility is that this white surface represents trousers. That the foreigners wear two garments—a shirt and coat—is quite clear from the figure of the foreigner in the middle ; he wears a 'qaba' of green cloth which is open at the neck ; through the opening one clearly sees the stripes of the undergarment. The coat reaches to the knees where the end is slit. In this slit the trousers are seen which cover the knees and reach down.—The peaked cap has a boss at the top. The coat is held tight with a belt. The costume of the third foreigner carrying a tray of ornaments is of no special interest. On the right two

1. Yazdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, pp. 46-48.

2. The following is the story of King Bandhuma's daughters from 'Jātaka', Vol. VI, p. 247. In the time of the Buddha Vipassī a certain king sent presents to King Bandhuma, the ruler of Bandhumatī. The presents consisted of a costly golden wreath and precious sandalwood. The king presented the sandalwood to the elder daughter and the golden wreath to the younger who with the consent of the king presented their gifts to Vipassī. The elder asked the boon to be born as the mother of a Buddha in a future life, and the younger one asked that in a future life she should be born with a golden wreath on her neck which was to remain till the time she attained sainthood. Their wishes were fulfilled.

3. Yazdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, pp. 46-47.

foreigners are entering the gate. The man in front wears the usual peaked cap, a 'qaba' reaching the ankles, and trousers and boots with the tip curved in. He wears moreover two belts through which a sword is suspended.

Who were these people? According to those upholding the Iranian embassy theory they should be Iranians. Yazdani is more inclined towards their Turkish origin.¹ The physical traits of these foreigners—a straight bold nose, sharply defined features and a spare pointed beard—are however absent in the foreigners of Central Asiatic or Iranian origin depicted many times at Ajanta. Their somewhat stocky appearance, thickly grown hair and the costumes made of thick woollen materials all go against an identification with the people represented as the so-called Persian embassy scene. Their sharp features probably recall their Semitic origin. They may be hastily dubbed as Arabs whose trade connections with western India from very early times are well known, but on mature consideration this is not possible as the Arab costume so far as we know it from the coins and other sources was a loose shirt and a scarf tied round the head, but they never wore a conical cap of the type above-mentioned. A possible clue for an identification is given by the costumes of Conon and his family in a painting at Dura Europus, a Macedonian colony on the right bank of the middle Euphrates between Antioch and Seleucia which was founded by a general of Seleucus about 280 B.C. and later on was under the rule of the Romans, Parthians and Persians.² The typical costume of Conon and the members of his family is a peaked cap and a long full-sleeved shirt and shoes. Conon has a goatee beard and sharp Semitic features. The costume here is called by Rostovtzeff³ a mixed Greco-Syrian dress (perhaps with some Iranian elements). The costume of the foreigners in the so-called Persian embassy scene is very similar to the costume of Conon and his family at Dura Europus. The date of the Dura Europus paintings however is the first Century A.D. while that of Ajanta, Cave I is the beginning of the 7th. Century—and owing to this wide gap one may hesitate to hazard conclusions. But in oriental

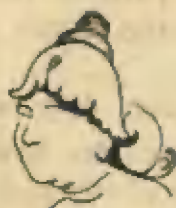
1. *Ib.*, Part I, p. 47.

2. 'Proceedings of the British Academy', Vol. XIX, p. 319.

3. 'The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World', Vol. II, Pl. XXVII, Oxford, 1941.



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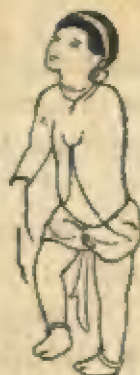
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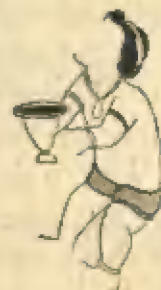
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countries the costumes do not undergo revolutionary changes in five hundred years. It is therefore possible that the foreigners represented in the so-called * Persian embassy scene at Ajañtā were Syrian or Mesopotamian merchants.

The foreign caps have been dealt with in connection with the costumes. Some interesting types are however specially described¹ here namely a conical cap with tilted tip and the flaps raised upwards (Fig. 112), a helmet with crenellated edge, decorated at the top with recessed bosses (Fig. 113) and a conical cap with a plume (Fig. 114).

Costumes of Children :

* In Ajañtā there are representations of children serving on the princes and princesses, and others and also in various playful attitudes.

In the famous representation of the Mother and Child in Cave XVII² the child wears a striped 'dhoti' and a 'channavīra'; his hair is held in position by ribbons (Fig. 115). At another place in Cave XVII³ the child wears a short 'dhoti' with 'paṭkā'; his hair is tied with a ribbon (Fig. 116). Elsewhere in Cave XVII⁴ the boy servant holding the spittoon wears shorts and tunic; his hair is held together with a ribbon (Fig. 117). A child in Cave I⁵ wears tight shorts, full boots and a skull-cap with flower decorations (Fig. 118); he is apparently swinging. In another variation⁶ a 'channavīra' and belt are added to the costume (Fig. 119).

The cap seems to have been favourite with children. In Cave XL⁷ one of the children is shown wearing a spiral-shaped cap. They also wore boots, as shown above. In Cave I⁸ the child wears a pair of socks or long boots, the upper ends of which are marked with a dark line.

Costume of the Queens and other Exalted Ladies on Gupta Coins :

The Goddess Lakṣmī seated on the couch on the obverse of the

1. The drawings have been taken from Griffiths' 'Ajanta', Part I.

2. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. VI, 7.

4. *Ib.*, Pl. III, 4.

6. *Ib.*

8. Yashwanth, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, Pl. XXXIV, B. p. 41.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. V, 6.

5. Copy in the Prince of Wales Museum.

7. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXVII.

standard type coins of Samudragupta¹ wears a 'sārī' down to the ankles. Her body is draped in a full-sleeved tunic reaching the knees. Below the breasts a waist-band is tied with its loop visible on the left side of the figure. Her shoulders are covered with a 'chādar' (Fig. 120). In the Candragupta I and Kumāradevī type the queen is dressed in the manner of Lakṣmī described above.² In the Archer type³ Lakṣmī wears a 'dhoti' and a half-sleeved jacket covering the breasts (Fig. 121).—In the stone image of Śiva-Pārvatī from Kosam dated in the Gupta year 139=458-9 A.D.⁴ the headdress of Pārvatī seems to be made of a basket work pattern with a boss on each side from which hang tassels (Fig. 122).

At Ajaṇṭā, in keeping with the costume of kings, the queens and ladies of position wear a striped 'dhoti' and 'ghaghri' with a profusion of ornaments. This costume of the Rānīs contradicts what we learn about it from the coins and contemporary literature. Probably the painters have given a local touch to the costume of the kings and queens.

In Ajaṇṭā⁵ the king's consort usually wears a 'sārī' or 'ghaghri' reaching the ankles and decorated with horizontal red and yellow stripes on white ground. Some of the registers are also chequered (Fig. 123). At another place the 'sārī' is decorated with purple and green stripes. The princess looking at the mirror⁷ wears a diaphanous 'sārī' held to the waist with a three-stranded girdle and the waist-band with the ends dangling decorated with gold (Fig. 124). One of her attendants on the right wears a simple loin-cloth with a belt and a waistband whose both ends hang down the back; the 'cauri'-bearer on the left also wears a loin-cloth whose ruffles are very charming; she wears no belt but a waist-band which is looped behind. In another place⁸ the Rānī wears a striped 'ghaghri' and what appears to be a turban or cap (Fig. 125).

Sometimes at Ajaṇṭā the princesses and the ladies in high position are dressed in sewn garments as well. In one of the scenes in Cave I⁹ the

1. Allan, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. I, 1-3.

2. Allan, *Ib.*, Pl. VII, 1.

3. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. I, 1. Cave XVII.

7. *Ib.*, Pl. V, 6; Cave XVII.

8. Herringham, *Ib.*, Pl. XXVII, 99. Cave XVII.

9. Yasdani, *Loc. cit.*, I, Pl. XVII, p. 31.

2. Allan, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. III, 2.

4. A.S.I. 1913-14, Pl. LXX (6).

6. *Ib.*, Pl. III, 4.



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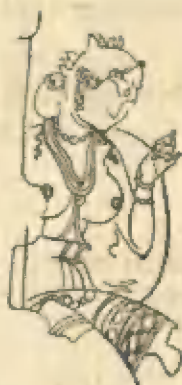
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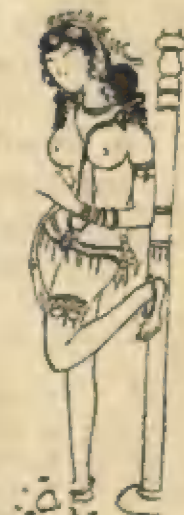
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Rānī wears a bodice of transparent gauze, the fine texture of which bears white dots and lines. In the famous Padmapāṇi panel in Cave I^a the princess to the left of the Bodhisattva is clad in a bodice of fine gauze² and a short skirt with birds and ladder pattern in horizontal registers; the middle register is decorated with a wavy pattern. Her head is covered with an elaborate headdress (Fig. 126). In another place³ the young Rānī wears a tunic of some pale material with a lozenge pattern worked on the border in red (Fig. 127). Another queen in Cave I^a seated on a stool, wears a striped 'ghaghri' and a breast-band of very thin material; the back is covered with what appears to be a scarf (Fig. 128). In Cave I^b on the extreme right side, between the pillars, stands a woman wearing a skirt made of striped silk whose most interesting part is the border which falls exactly in the centre of the skirt. The pattern consists of a chain of rosettes which might have been woven or embroidered (Fig. 129). In Cave II^a a princess wears a tight bodice of thin material and a close-fitting knee-length garment (Fig. 130).

Costumes of the Serving maids :

It is not however the costumes of the ladies of high rank at Ajaṇṭā that shows many varieties, for, as we know, the ladies of position except for their ornaments were dressed simply. Strange as it may appear it is in the costumes of serving maids that we get glimpses of the smart costumes of the period.

Ordinarily the maid-servants and attendants are dressed in a short 'sāri', loose 'kamarband' with the ends dangling at the back and belt.⁴ But at Ajaṇṭā the female attendants also are seen going in tunics and 'ghaghri's' which are very often embroidered. The different types of sewn garments worn by these attendants and the materials used for making them as far as is evident from Ajaṇṭā are described below.

1. *Ib.*, Pl. XXIV; Vol. I, p. 28. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XI, 13.

2. This is not apparent in the reproduction but visible in the original fresco as observed by Yazdani, *Ib.*

3. *Ib.*, Part I, Pl. VI, B.

4. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XIV, 16.

5. *Ib.*, Pl. XV, 17.

6. Yazdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part II, Pl. XXI, p. 20.

7. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. V, 6. Cave XVII.

Maid-servants often wear a white full-sleeved tunic reaching the knees (Fig. 131).¹ Female attendants often wear double jackets.² In Cave I a woman attendant is shown listening with rapt attention to the sermon of the Buddha. She wears a jacket over the tunic. The jacket seems to be made of purplish 'bāndhañī' cloth and is open in front, while the green tunic has full sleeves and is closed in front (Fig. 132). Another maid-servant seated within the room where the king is engaged in conversing with his wife wears a quarter-sleeved green bodice marked with dots ; its frontage is prolonged to reach the knees ; another red and tie-dyed garment is worn over it and fastened at the back. Her head is covered with a scarf (Fig. 133).³ A 'caurī'-bearer wears a low-necked frock-like garment made of striped silk (Fig. 134).⁴ In another place⁵ a 'caurī'-bearer walking in front of the Rāja's horse in a procession wears a full-sleeved tunic in which the figures of ducks are woven or printed (Fig. 135). In the Padmapāñi scene⁶ the 'caurī'-bearer standing behind the Bodhisattva and who seems to be of foreign extraction, is dressed in a long tunic and a peculiar headgear with four upturned embroidered flaps and a conical top in the middle (Fig. 136). 'Caurī'-bearers also wore the 'sāñī'. In Cave I⁷ below the throne of the Rāja stands a 'caurī'-bearer wearing a 'sāñī', the upper part of which she has rolled and thrown across her shoulder in the form of a scarf. Another 'caurī'-bearer in Cave XVII⁸ wears a scarf round the neck, striped shorts and a scarf with its ends hanging down (Fig. 137). At Ajañtā,⁹ in the 'Court of the King of Benares' the 'caurī'-bearer (Fig. 138) standing behind the king wears a tall cap decorated with what appears to be a flower at the top. In the same scene on the right behind the minister stands another 'caurī'-bearer with a conical cap ; a very thin scarf is thrown round the chest (Fig. 139).

1. Yazdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, Pl. VI (b).

2. Yazdani, Part I, Pl. XIV. Cave I.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. XVII. Cave I.

4. Yazdani, *Ib.*, Pl. XVII. Cave I.

5. *Ib.*, XVIII. Cave I.

6. *Ib.*, Pl. XXIV. Cave I.

7. Yazdani, *Ib.*, I, Pl. XXXVIII.

8. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. IX, 11.

9. Herringham, *Ib.*, Pl. XXV, 27.



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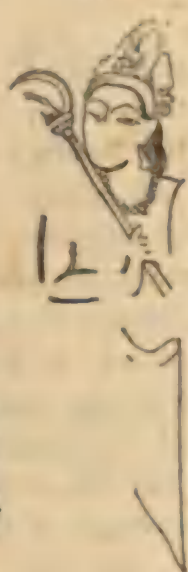
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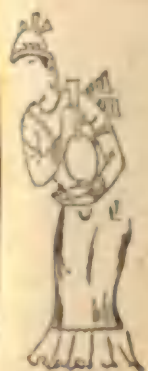
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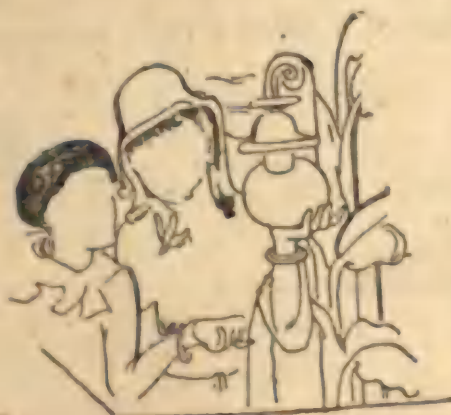
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142-143



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The above description of the costume of the 'cauri'-bearers does not mean that this sort of costume was entirely confined to a particular class of servant girls. It was common among all classes of servants and there is every reason to believe that it must have been the costume of the middle-class women in the Gupta period. The following description should give an adequate idea of the varieties of the women's costume specially attached to the palace.

In the 'Campeya Jātaka' a lady in the background is dressed in a long tunic. The tunic seems to have been made of a thin fabric decorated with diagonally assorted small flowers. The pattern on her scarf cannot be traced in the reproduction but it is distinct in the original.²

Female Attendants probably Persians :

In one of the Bacchanalian scenes in Ajanṭā, Cave I,³ on the right stands an attendant serving wine to the chief in the centre. She wears a round cap of red material (broad-cloth or velvet) with a white border which is either of fur or some woollen material. A white plum springs from the top of the cap. Her upper garment consists of a long tight full-sleeved pink tunic with embroidered collar, shoulders and cuffs. The lower garment is a long white skirt with a frilled border of pale blue colour (Fig. 140). The costume of the attendant on the left is practically the same with certain differences only. Attached to the red cap is a long flowing veil falling on the back, one end of which is raised and tucked up in the 'kamarband'. The shoulders, cuffs and the collar seem to be trimmed with white fur. The long skirt border consists of frills in light green and blue (Fig. 141). The woman with her lord whom these attendants are plying with wine is dressed in a tunic in no way different in make from those of the servants.

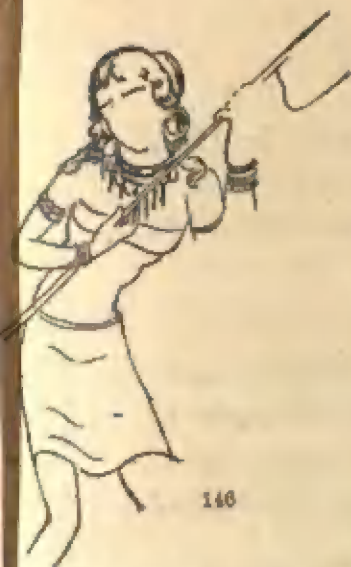
In Cave XVII⁴ an attendant in the centre who by her costume appears to be of foreign extraction wears a tunic with rosette decoration and

1. Yazdani, *Ib.*, I, Pl. XXXIV, B. Cave II.

2. Yazdani, *Ib.*, p. 41, fn. 1.

3. Yazdani, I, Pl. XXXIX, A.

4. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XXVIII., 31.



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147 148



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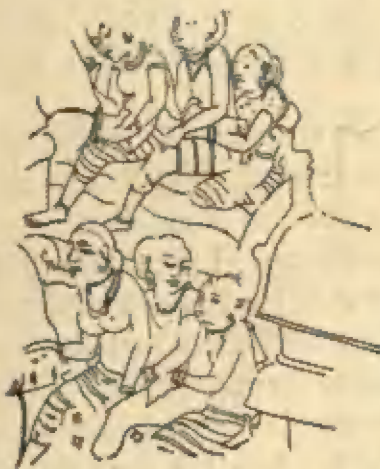
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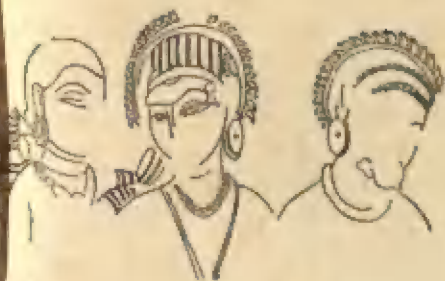
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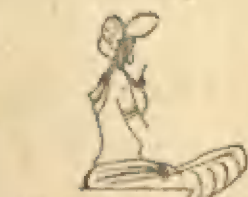
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156A



156B



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a dome-shaped cap with upturned brim and a knob at the top. In Cave XVII¹ one of the maids wears a tunic and a scarf with its ends knotted in front (Fig. 142). Another maid in the same scene wears a cap with two straps hanging on the sides (Fig. 143).

Maid Servants of Foreign Extraction, etc. :

In Cave XVII² a maid servant apparently of foreign extraction wears a moss-green half-sleeved jacket closely fitting at the waist and open at the sides and front. The material from which it is made is embroidered with diagonally assorted stars. Her skirt is probably made of blue striped silk. Her helmet-like cap has a beaded rim (Fig. 144).

In Cave II at Ajanṭā³ a woman is shown wearing a tight bodice of blue silk, the short sleeves edged with pearl strings. In the Deccan it is still a fashion among ladies to attach strings of gold beads to the short sleeves of their 'colis.'⁴

In Cave II⁵ the dress of an attendant is made of three pieces,—a tight bodice, over which is a tunic of pleasing design, slit for almost the entire length at the sides to give freedom of movement and a skirt or 'sāri' tight enough to indicate the roundnesses of the figure (Fig. 145). A similar apron-like tunic appears elsewhere in Cave II⁶ where this garment is made of a material with black stars worked on white ground. The sides of the body and back are exposed to view.

In Cave XVI⁷ the fan-bearer is represented as wearing a short 'ghaghri' and breast-band (Fig. 146). Another maid seated by the side of the Dying Princess wears a half-sleeved tight jacket.

Female Attendants engaged in preparing Medicine :

In Cave XVI on the top right a seated attendant wears a half-

1. Mukul Dey, 'My Pilgrimages to Ajanta and Bagh', Plate facing, p. 140.

2. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. III, 4.

3. Yashani, *Ib.*, Part II, Pl. VII a.

4. *Ib.* Part II, p. 4.

5. *Ib.* Part II, Pl. XVII a.

6. Yashani, *Ib.* Part II, Pl. XXV.

7. Herringham, *Ib.*, Pl. XXXV, 33.

sleeved tunic fitting the body and reaching the knee (Fig. 147)¹. The second one preparing medicine wears a half-sleeved tunic covering the chest and perhaps extending down below ; the lower part of the back seems to be bare (Fig. 148).

A Woman in a Garden :

In Cave XVII² a woman walking in the garden wears a 'ghaghri' of transparent material and a sash transversely on the chest (Fig. 149).

Women Attendants of the Buddha :

In Cave XVII³ a woman attending on the Buddha wears a striped sleeve-less tunic without shoulders and a tall hexagonal cap studded with jewels (Fig. 150). Another attendant in the same scene wears a rectangular cap, while a third one wears a tiered cap (Fig. 151). A woman apparently belonging to the middle class⁴ seated on the floor with her back turned wears a sleeveless low-necked bodice the upper part of which is green, yellow and blue ; the lower part seems to be striped (Fig. 152).

Costume of Women Riding Elephants :

At Bagh⁵ women riding elephants are depicted. The driver of the elephant in the background wears golden striped shorts. In the group of three women the one seated behind the driver wears a short-sleeved 'coli' made of golden brocade with the cuffs decorated with greenish borders. The front part of the bodice covers the breasts and the stomach, and continuing, ends on the thighs. The lower edge is cut in semi-circular style with pointed ends. She also wears a striped 'ghaghri'. The apron-like garment we have already come across in Ajañṭā. The bodice of the third woman is similar in cut to that of the first woman though the bottom edge does not seem to be cut in semi-circles but is left plain. The cloth seems to be yellow dotted with blue (Fig. 153).

1. Mukul Dey, *Loc. cit.*

2. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, XXXV, 39.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. XLII, 55.

4. Yashani, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, Pl. XI.

5. Marshall & Others, 'The Bagh Caves', Pl. G, Details Pl. 1.

Headdresses of the Women at Ajaṇṭā :

At Ajaṇṭā generally the women go with their heads uncovered, but sometimes the women of higher social status wear tiaras. Some attendants also wear caps. At times however the artists indulged in representing some local headdresses. In Cave XVII¹ a woman otherwise without much clothing wears an embroidered scarf covering her hair (Fig. 154). In Cave II² a woman is represented wearing a striped and embroidered cap. The ribbon-like scrolls seen on her shoulders may be the ornamented borders of the scarf. Headgear of this type is to be seen frequently at Ajaṇṭā and Ellora (Fig. 155).

The Dress of an Aboriginal Woman :

The aboriginal women wear a leaf skirt, which is represented in Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā³. The make-up of this skirt is extremely simple, the green twigs being suspended in front and behind from the three-stranded girdle made of beads (Fig. 61).

Costume of the Peasant Women :

The majority of the women belonging to the cultivator class however wore short 'sārīs.' In Cave II⁴ the women engaged in their toilet wear short striped 'dhotīs' with one end tucked in behind. The hair is covered with a scarf or bound with a ribbon (Fig. 156).

Costumes of Female Musicians and Dancers :

On a lintel piece excavated from Pawāya, the ancient Padmāvati, Gwalior State, is depicted a dancing scene (Fig. 157).⁵ The relief may be dated as Pre-Gupta or Nāga and is interesting from the point of the history of the local costume of Bundelkhand. There are eight female musicians seated on stools surrounding the dancer in the middle. The latter wears a 'sārī' reaching the ankles with the pleated end tucked in behind—a local manner of wearing the 'sārī' still prevalent in Bundelkhand. Her breasts are covered with a scarf knotted near the left shoulder. A very elaborate coiffure adorns her head. The musicians in the background wear the 'sārī' in the manner of the dancer but also a 'colī' tying in front.

1. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XXXV.

2. Yasdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part II, Pls. XXXII, XXXIII b.

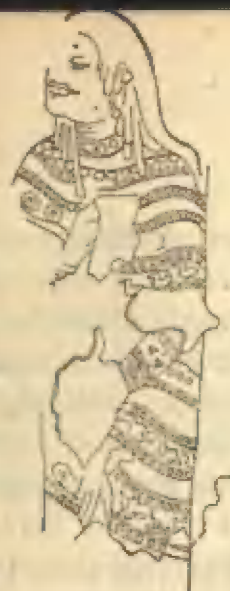
3. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. XXVII, 29.

4. Copy in the Prince of Wales Museum.

5. 'The Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State for 1930-31', Pl. VIII.



158



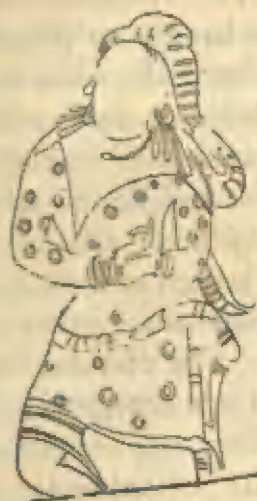
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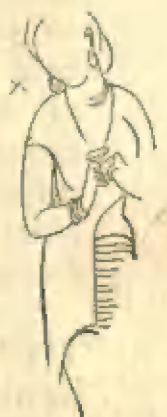
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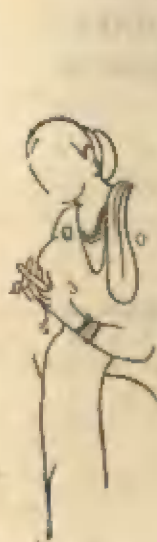
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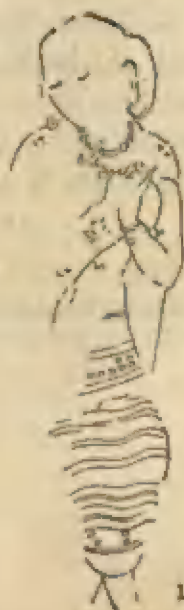
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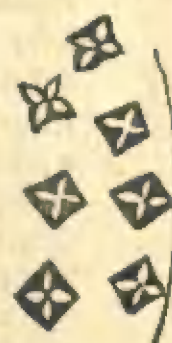
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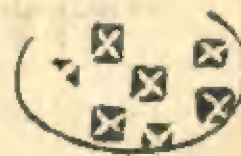
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In Cave XVII¹ a group of female cymbal players is represented. They wear 'sāṛīs' and elaborately tied waist-bands (Fig.158). Delicate scarves flutter behind. In Ajaṇṭā Cave I² one of the musicians wears a long tunic of blue striped silk in which spirals and the figures of oxen and ducks appear in the texture of the silk (Fig. 159). The patterns are in horizontal registers ; the stripes flanked with narrow borders are decorated with circles. Another dancing girl in the same group wears a tunic made of tie-dyed cloth.

In the 'Mahājanaka Jātaka' in Cave I³ the dancer wears a long dark brown full-sleeved tunic decorated with circles. Over this tunic there is an yellow apron-like garment. For freedom of movement its sides have been so cut that its lower ends hang loose (Fig.160).⁴ Her skirt is long and is marked with purple, green and yellow stripes, on which appear lozenge patterns in white. The drummer has her breasts covered with a striped breast-band tied at the back with its ends hanging down. She wears shorts or a 'ghaghri' to the middle of which is attached a broad decorative band filled with a lozenge and circle motif (Fig.161).

At Bāgh⁵ in one scene two groups of female musicians are depicted. The left hand group is comprised of seven women standing around an eighth figure, a dancer (Fig.162). The costume of the dancer is made up of a long-sleeved greenish yellow tunic decorated with a white dot-in-circle motif reaching to the knees. The tunic has pointed ends, and the cuffs, the lower edges and the sides of the pointed ends are decorated with what appears to be lace. The wide collar cut in a meandering shape seems to have been added separately perhaps to enhance the elegance of the dancing costume. The trousers are decorated with greenish yellow stripes which match very well with the tunic. The loose 'kamarband' with blue and white stripes also blends perfectly with the colour scheme of the costume.

1. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Cave XVII, No. 57.

2. Yasdani, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, Pl. X a. Cave I.

3. Yasdani, *Ib.*, Pls. XII, XIII.

4. Compare the apron-like garment of the dancer depicted on one of the Gupta period lintels at Sārnāth ; Sahni, 'Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath', Pl. XXVII. She wears a Sāṛī and a scarf over her shoulders.

5. Marshall, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. D.

The head is covered with a golden scarf with thin blue stripes. The 'tipri' player (Fig. 163) standing next to the drummer has on her left shoulder a doubled up scarf with stripes in blue and gold. Another 'tipri' player (Fig. 164) standing next to her wears a 'ghaghri' with blue and greenish stripes. The ovaloid neck of her bodice is open. Among the three cymbal players on the right of the musicians the middle one wears a half-sleeved ultramarine bodice with an ovaloid opening at the neck. Its ends cover the breasts and are prolonged to the knees (Fig. 165). The 'ghaghri' has light greenish stripes and the white intervening spaces are relieved with hachures.

In the second group of dancers and musicians the seated dancer wears the same type of costume as the dancer in the previous group. The dull grey bodice of the musician standing behind him may indicate that it was made of silver brocade. Its apron-like cut can be compared with the bodice of a musician in the previous group.

There is yet another group of female musicians at Bāgh.¹ All the members of this party standing in the foreground wear bodices. The one in the centre wears a green one dotted with white. The dancer to her left wears a tiara and her knotted bun-like coiffure is covered with a white scarf. She wears a light blue tunic over which she seems to have worn an apron-like garment. The woman next to the dancer has a half-sleeved ultramarine bodice. The outstanding characteristics in the costumes of the women are summarised below :

Summary :

A. On the basis of the coins it may be said that the ladies of position wore 'sāris', full-sleeved tunics reaching down the knees, waist-bands and 'chādars.' Sometimes 'dhotis' suspended with elaborate zones and half-sleeved jackets were also worn.

B. At Ajaṇṭā, however, the ladies of position wear usually striped 'ghaghri's' and 'sāris,' but at times they wear half-sleeved jackets or bodices of fine gauze.

C. The serving women at Ajaṇṭā often wear sewn garments consisting of full-sleeved or half-sleeved long tunics, 'colis,' breast-bands, jackets,

1. Marshall, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. C.

and apron-like garments. The maid-servants of foreign origin wear long tunics, frilled undergarments and caps.

Patterns on Textiles :

So far we have been dealing with the costumes and in that connection we have described the different patterns appearing on the materials out of which the clothes were fashioned ; but at Ajañtā in the representations of pillows, curtains and cushions further light is thrown on the textile designs of the Gupta period about which unhappily in the absence of contemporary material we know very little.

In Cave XVII¹ a glimpse of two curtains is obtainable. One is of a dark green colour divided into panels by dotted lines with white flowers appearing on the surface. The second curtain bears ochre-coloured stripes with bluish flower petals appearing on the white ground (Fig. 166).

In Cave XVII² the cushion on which the king is seated is made of striped material, the alternate bands bearing a chess pattern (Fig. 167).

Some very interesting textile materials (Fig. 168) are shown in Cave XVII as back curtains in the scene depicting the King of Benares honouring the Golden Goose.³ Kāśī (Benares) has been a seat of the textile industry from very ancient times, and the appearance of typical Benares cloth in a scene connected with Benares need not cause surprise. In one textile piece diagonally assorted rosettes appear (Fig. 168A) ; in the second (168B) there are open flowers and the third bears chains of spirals (Fig. 168C).

In another palace scene in Cave I⁴ the common textile patterns can be studied. The women wear skirts made of striped material. The queen's skirt made of a pale yellow stuff bears chocolate horizontal stripes on which are worked arrow-head-like designs which are perhaps conventional representations of birds (Fig. 169). The material of the skirt of the woman on the extreme left is similar to that of the queen's skirt but the stripes are decorated with circles. The 'cauri'-bearer in the

1. Herringham, *Loc. cit.*, Pl. I, 1.

2. Herringham, *Ib.*, Pl. XXII, 24.

3. *Ib.*, Pl. XXV, 28.

4. *Ib.*, Pl. XIV (16).

background on the left wears a skirt made of pale green stuff beautifully decorated with chocolate stripes.

In a palace scene from Cave I¹ the cushions are made of a material bearing a four-petalled floral design ('caupatiā' ; Fig. 170).

In Cave I again² two patterns on pillows are seen. (1) The cushion used by Campeya is made of cloth in which are small stars worked in silk and gold or silver thread on a dull yellowish texture which itself is gold or silver cloth. The design on the cushion which his consort uses consists of stars or four-pointed flowers worked out on a dark background.

In Cave II³ the cushion cloth bears a check pattern with stars at the corner.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages we have covered the history of Indian costume roughly from the third century A. D. to the end of the seventh. The literary evidences, the accounts of the Chinese travellers and the archæological evidences of paintings and sculptures have all been utilised to show that the period under review is not only called the Golden age because of the great political achievements of rulers like Samudragupta, Candragupta and Śrī Harṣa, but also from the point of view of the development of Indian culture which manifests itself in the superb sculptures of the temples and the cave paintings. They are a veritable treasure-house of contemporary manners and customs, of the luxurious life which the kings and nobles led and of the refined costumes of the people which form the subject matter of our thesis.

The history of the costume in the period under review may be divided roughly under three sections : (1) pre-Gupta ; (2) Gupta and (3) post-Gupta, including the period of Śrī Harṣa and the Cālukyas of Deccan.

For the history of the costume of the first period our mainstay are the sculptures from Goli, Guntur district, in the Madras Presidency and stray sculptures from Pāwāya in Gwalior State. In the South, as far as the costume of the people is concerned, there was no big departure from the

1. Herringham, *Ib.*, Pl. XXVIII, 37.

2. Yasdanī, *Loc. cit.*, Part I, p. 89, Pl. XXXIVa, 1.

3. *Ib.*, Part II, Pl. XII, p. 10.

days of Amarāvati. In the sculpture from Pāwāya, however, certain local variations have been recorded. There is no fixed chronology of the Mathurā sculptures—nearly all the red stone sculptures being labelled Kuṣāṇa, though some may be of Gupta date. These sculptures, however, we have not taken into consideration because very few of them tell us anything new from what we already know about Indian costume in the Kuṣāṇa period.

In the Gupta period proper various sculptures, the paintings of Cave XVII at Ajaṇṭā, if we prefer to call them Gupta and not Vākātaka and most important of them all the coins of the Gupta emperors amply illustrate the costumes. In the Gupta sculptures there is a tendency towards conventionalisation and idealisation. The coins however are naturalistic in the treatment of the portraits of the kings, and even within their small size they show minute details of the costumes. As regards the literary sources there is the 'Amarakośa' and the works of Kālidāsa, though the latter does not throw much light on the subject of costumes. A third source however of inestimable value are certain Jain texts; the traditions of the Jain canon are much older than the Gupta period and its 'sūtra' portion may go as far back as the fourth century B.C. But the Jain canon according to the Jain traditions themselves was collected and re-edited from time to time, the latest edition being made in the fifth century by a council of monks invited by Devārdhi Kṣamāśramaṇa at Valabhi. The descriptive portions in the canon which, by the way, are all alike, by their overelaboration and pompous style remind us more of the style of Subandhu and Bāṇa than of the terse style of the authors of the Jain 'sūtras'. The late age of these passages is further supported by internal evidence. Many of them mention necklaces made of 'dīnāra', a coin introduced in the Kuṣāṇa period. The garments bearing geese patterns are also not mentioned in the literature of the pre-Gupta age. It seems that these descriptive portions were added in the fifth century while the canon was undergoing the third edition. The Jain canon as is well known has a vast commentarial literature, known technically as 'Niryukti', 'Bhāṣya', 'Cūrṇi' and 'Tīkā' the first three being in Prakrit and the last in Sanskrit. Unfortunately nothing is known about the date of the Bhāṣyas—the most important of them being the Bhāṣya on the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra'

by Jinadāsa Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa. In the absence of dates one has to depend on internal evidence, and as far as the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra' is concerned there should be no hesitation in assigning it to the Gupta era if not earlier.

This is not the place to discuss the evidence about the date of a particular work but as we have utilised fully the materials on costumes, textile materials, shoes, etc., from the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra' Bhāṣya it will not be besides the point to give one or two proofs of its date. In a section (vol. IV, 3891-92) certain coins are described as current in India and their rates of exchange are also given. From these couplets it is evident that there were coins of Dakṣiṇāpatha, Uttarāpatha, the Nelaka coins of Conjeevaram and the coins of Pāṭaliputra. Such political units could not exist later than the Gupta period, though they could also point to the age of the later Sātavāhanas. In the description of the costume of a nun one is faced with the well-clad type of women of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. Considering these points—and there are many more—there should not be any hesitation in assigning Jinadāsa Gaṇi to the Gupta period. But even if he existed after the Gupta period there is every likelihood that he has incorporated much of the material of the period, and hence is a trustworthy source for the social history of this period.

The materials on costume and textiles in the 'Amarakośa' are of a varied nature. Various classes of textiles manufactured from bark fibres, linen, silk, wool and goat's hair are defined. Various technical terms of cloth manufacture from the loom to the washing and finishing stages are given. It also contains various terms for garments sewn or otherwise. Names for sewn garments of the women, such as 'cola, caṇḍātaka', etc., are mentioned. Our knowledge of garments of the period is further augmented by occasional references to Kālidāsa : our knowledge of the various kinds of silks is increased by the 'Bṛhat-kalpa-sūtra' Bhāṣya which also tells of the various centres of cloth production, varieties of cloth materials, their prices and of various articles of costume both of laymen and monks and nuns. Its description of shoes is of great importance and for the first time in Indian literature we are told the Indian name for full boots worn by the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta kings as 'khapusā'.

It is evident from the coins and paintings that sewn garments were extensively used. This innovation may be directly attributed to the foreign influence of the Sakas and Hūṇas and the cultural and commercial inter-

course with the foreign lands. The imported female slaves clad in sewn garments made after the style of the countries from which they came perhaps also to a certain degree moulded the taste of the inmates of the harem as far as their costumes were concerned.

It is evident from the coins that the Gupta kings often wore tunics, trousers and high boots after the fashion of the Kuṣāṇa kings, and very often they are also represented wearing 'dhoti, dupaṭṭā', and turban in combination with tunics and 'kamarband'. It is also evident from the coins of Kumāragupta that a national costume was coming to the forefront in the later part of the Gupta period. The women as a rule are represented in 'sāri', bodice, tunic and 'chādar'.

Ample material for the study of the costume of the post-Gupta period is supplied in the works of Bāṇabhaṭṭa. Here we are not only given scrappy references to costumes but are told how they were worn and of what materials they were made. Bāṇa's observant eyes no details of the costumes of the kings, queens, attendants, messengers, chamberlains or even monks escaped, and the truthfulness of his description can be checked with the help of the Ajaṇṭā paintings.

Further materials for the history of Indian costume in this period are supplied by the Chinese travellers Yuan-chwang and I-tsing. Yuan-chwang's description of Indian costume is short and rather conventional, but I-tsing has given a detailed description of the costumes of the monks and nuns belonging to the different orders of Buddhism and he has also made pertinent observations on the costumes of the Indians in general. It is evident from his observations that the skirt was generally used by women and the common dress of the Indians was a 'dhoti' and 'dupaṭṭā', though in Kashmir and other colder regions sewn woollen garments were used.

All the informations about Indian costume pale into insignificance when we approach the paintings of Ajaṇṭā which show us in detail the costumes of the people of all classes. It is significant that commonly the kings at Ajaṇṭā wear 'dhotis' and highly ornamented headdresses but sewn garments were not tabooed. The nobles and princes imitated the king. The chamberlain and at times the ministers wear long tunics. The soldiers wear either a 'dhoti' or are clad in tunics, trousers, head scarves and high boots. The jesters and royal attendants wear tunics and boots

or purely Indian costume. The queens and the women of higher social status wear light garments consisting of 'sāris', skirts and scarves, though at times they also wear tunics with half sleeves or full. It is however in the costumes of the female attendants that a great variety may be seen. One section of the female attendants wears tunics and caps of definitely foreign origin and the other section is clad in purely Indian costume. The dancing girls are also shown wearing tunics, sometimes in combination with an apron-like garment and trousers.

We have referred to the foreign intercourse in this period. This is amply supported by the various foreign types appearing at Ajaṇṭā. One type wears a tunic with a V-shaped opening at the neck, lightly embroidered at the cuffs, collar and arms, and dome-shaped caps. Their beards, bushy eyebrows and straight features recall the features of Iranians, and they may be Iranians or Central Asians. In the famous so-called Persian embassy scene in Cave I the foreigners are of different stock and in our opinion may be Syrians. In the Khusrau and Shīrīn scene the elaborate dress of Iranian women wearing frilled tunics and domed caps may be seen.

The paintings of Ajaṇṭā also depict various textile patterns. They show that tie-dyed materials were greatly in demand and that stripes, ladders and chequers were common patterns. In one painting we see certain pieces which might have been of Benares manufacture.

In conclusion we have utilised whatever material was available both from literature and art for reconstructing a truthful picture of the costumes in one of the most glorious periods of Indian history. It dispels the prejudice and common notion that there can not be any history of Indian costume prior to the Mughal period as the Indians prior to this wore only simple unsewn garments without any aesthetic value whatsoever. The Indians however knew sewn garments at least fifteen hundred years before the advent of the Mughals, but mere aesthetic considerations did not move them to discard the more convenient and hygienic 'dhoti' and scarf in favour of tight tunics, trousers and caps,—most uncomfortable articles of costume where the sun registers a temperature of 120 degrees in summer. But the simplicity of two sheets making up the costume of the majority of the ancient Indians lent itself to artistic modes of wearing them. All these facts have been recorded in the body of this article.



JAMINI ROY

by BISHNU DEY and JOHN IRWIN

"...to feel shape simply as shape..."

"The very small or the very big takes on an added size emotion..."

"The meaning and significance of form itself probably depends on the countless associations of man's history..."

"My sculpture is becoming less representational, less an outward visual copy, and so what some people would call abstract; but only because I believe that in this way I can present the human psychological content of my work with the greatest directness and intensity..."

Henry Moore

"When colour has its richness, form has its plenitude".

Cézanne

By what standards are we to judge Jamini Roy? A genius experimenting in pure form? An Indian Giotto or Cézanne?

Let us, at the outset, be content with the simple claim that Jamini Roy is the only living painter in a country of four hundred million people who has achieved a really pure and vital intensity of creative expression. It will be sufficient if, as an introduction to his work, we can set out the circumstances which made this lonely achievement possible, and in a way that will assist the reader who has no direct knowledge of his work to arrive at an independent valuation.

Jamini Roy was born in April 1887, the younger son of middle-class landowning parents who lived on the income of a small estate at Beliatare, a village in the Bankura District of Western Bengal.

There is a significance about his birthplace which to anyone familiar



with the cultural and ethnic history of North-Eastern India will at once be apparent. Beliatore lies between the low rocky escarpments of South-Eastern Bihar and the flat fertile plains ~~of the~~ Gangetic delta; and at this point where the two landscapes merge into a geological compromise, different cultures and ethnic types merge also. From the West come the Santhals, people of rough aboriginal stock still retaining something of the ritual and social consciousness of tribal life; from the North the Mallas, mercenaries of tough physique; and from the East the people of the plains, Hindus of mixed heritage and Sanskritic culture, many of them, like the Bauris, heretical in outlook and rebels in spirit against hierarchical conventions. As a result of the fusion or intermingling of these different types—a process which has taken place over many centuries—Bankura District has developed an intense local culture, largely Hindu, but in origin part-Buddhist and even part-animist sustained by an inner impulse, a feeling for the sensuous fullness of life, which are characteristics common to all cultures thriving in close organic relation to the soil.

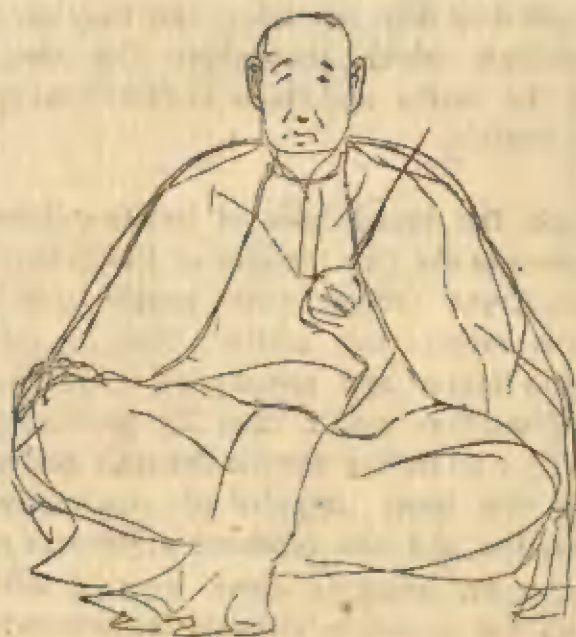
These local cultures have existed widely in India, and they are a part of the larger pattern of folk-culture which, throughout the whole period of Aryan rule, has supplied the myths and given to Hindu art its organic richness and extraordinary vitality.

It is necessary to understand the broad lines of India's cultural development, or we cannot appreciate the rich tensions of Jamini Roy's early environment. The original Aryan settlers were people whose minds tended towards metaphysics rather than myths. They brought to India a religion which led easily to prayer and speculation; and like all peoples who live as nomads and warriors rather than by productive labour on the soil, they had little or no feeling for the dynamic quality of natural events, nor had they that inner impulse of imaginative invention necessary for myth-creation and the sensuous enjoyment of life. The indigenous peoples, however, living in close contact with nature and preoccupied solely with the concrete struggle for existence, the desire for plenty, for achieved labour, for conquest of environment,

were rich above all in those very qualities which the Aryan settlers lacked. The mixed culture-pattern of Hinduism evolved gradually at the point of contact or adjustment between the dynamic uprush of these indigenous mass-forces on the one hand, and the abstract intellectualising of the Aryan mind on the other.

As minority rulers, the Aryans were wise not to attempt to impose ideas which they knew to be essentially foreign to the temperament and custom of the people they wanted to subjugate. Instead, they accepted the myths of the indigenous peoples and, in the process of assimilation, gradually transformed them to their own ends. This meant that the base of the social structure remained always fluid, leaving complete freedom for the creative source of communal expression. Contrary, in fact, to restricting this creative source, the Aryan's abstract mind provided the necessary stability as a counterpart to the restless fluidity of the mass-impulse, affording it a new basis of discipline. Each new tribe or sect, as it fell into the orbit of Aryan domination, served to strengthen

the orthodox culture, because, coming with a closer memory of group-organisation, with more actual remnants of the group still functioning, it added new life, a new vitality.



This tendency, however, was not always as uniform as a schematic generalisation would suggest. There were times when the Aryans lost their habit of assimilation with the result that Brahmanic absolutism was ruthlessly imposed upon a population already oppressed

economically. In such cases crisis was inevitable : the down-driven mass-forces began to cohere in a vital way below the orthodox levels, thus precipitating a movement of open revolt. Such, in fact, was the early history of Buddhism, which took the form of a popular revolution against Brahmanic priestcraft and swept across India on the revived memory of the lost group-life, proclaiming the equality of man and calling upon the individual to seek perfection in his own way irrespective of caste or convention. Similar revolutions—each one religious in form but social in content—took place at later stages of Indian history, not the least important of which were, Sikhism, Vaishnavism, the Shakti-cult and, in a different way, Indian Islam. It would perhaps be true to say that Islam, deriving its main following in Bengal from those who had accepted the new faith as an escape from Brahmin oppression, is the only religious force which has not been assimilated into the main body of orthodox Hinduism—although many sects, such as the Bauls and the worshippers of the Bengal Tiger-god, have in fact created the unity in their heterodox cults.

These popular revolts account for the wide prevalence of pre-Aryan customs in orthodox Hindu worship. In certain parts of Bengal, during the Pujas, the women still dance with their hair hanging down in the belief that it will help the crops to grow. Snake-worship, river-worship, the Shiva-cult, the various cults of the mother-goddess and a thousand other pre-Aryan customs survive as evidence of the way in which the folk-imagination triumphs insidiously over the orthodox mind. In the Puranas we read how Shiva, the phallic-god of the people, came to force his worship on the orthodox sages, in the manner of Dionysos, by winning the allegiance of their wives who had stronger affiliations with the people of the soil. Similar legends haunt the myths of Ganesha (God of the Rabble); of Manasa (Goddess of Snakes), who is still worshipped mainly by peasants and women ; and of Sita, heroine of the Ramayana, who was "born not of man but of the plough's furrow". First rejected, later tolerated and finally assimilated, these gods and goddesses remain as symbols of the people's triumph.



The history of Bankura District, where Jamini Roy was born, provides some of the best examples of this long process of revolt and assimilation. It is very well illustrated in historic times by the democratic mystic movements (such as the Bhakti cult) which began in the 11th century and found their strongest support in this part of Bengal.

It was inevitable, moreover, that the local folk-culture should derive much of its essential character from these movements; like the movements themselves, the folk-culture assumed the character of protest and became a means of defying the upper-class ethic—but always in the guise of a rich humanism, implying the sensuous appreciation of life as something to be accepted and enjoyed, in marked contrast to the orthodox emphasis on prayer and speculation.

Special circumstances had enabled Beliatore to preserve its local culture long after village life in other parts of Bengal had succumbed to a slow process of social and economic disintegration. Elsewhere this disintegration had been brought about during the 18th and 19th centuries by the extension of markets and the gradual centralisation of trade, which had the effect of undermining the self-sufficient mediaeval economy upon which the autonomy of village life depended. Bankura District, largely owing to geographical factors, remained for a long time free of these economic influences; and when Jamini Roy was born, the village of Beliatore still retained its self-sufficient mediaeval economy. Twelve miles from the nearest railway, the people grew their own food, cotton, oil-seeds, and provided their own industries; there was little or no trade contact with the outside world.

It is the fashion among modern thinkers to deplore the harsh barbarity of mediaeval social conditions without taking into consideration any of the advantages that such a social system provided. Not the least important was the fact that, despite the rigid class stratification, the hierarchy of Brahmin and low-caste, the social pattern was nevertheless closely integrated,



allowing each individual an organic function within the communal whole.

✓ In such communities the artisan combines the function of both artist and craftsman. Unlike the art of more self-conscious peoples, folk-art is never regarded by those who practise it as an activity justified for its own sake. When it is not religious, it is always functional; and the craftsman desires nothing more than to impart bright colour and design to the objects of everyday life. The simple and pure forms arise simply from a wish to communicate, and from the need to distinguish things.

✓ It was these simple village craftsmen—the potters, weavers and carpenters who made the Puja images, the dolls and toys, and who painted on the scrolls and *pats*—it was they who aroused in Jamini Roy his

first interest in form and design. Watching these people at work, he grew up in free intimacy with them; and copying their motives and patterns, he used them ~~as~~ children do in play.

According to village conventions, it would not be considered proper for the son of an upper-caste landowner to behave in this way. But Jamini Roy was fortunate in having a father whose strong sense of social idealism took precedence of his respect for convention (he had talked of founding co-operative societies for the village cultivators years before such schemes had been taken up); and he was imaginative enough, too, to realise that it was something more than mere idle curiosity which led his son to take such a keen interest in the work of the village craftsmen.

When Jamini Roy was sixteen, his father sent him to Calcutta to study at the Government School of Art. Like most academic schools of the period, it was a moribund institution existing in neglect of all vital art movements of its day. This, however, does not deny that its tuition had a certain value for a boy whose innate gift of draughtsmanship was in need of discipline. Jamini Roy adapted himself quickly to the new style, learning to draw classical nudes and to paint oils in the Alma Tadema tradition; and by the time he finished his course at the school he had already established himself as a professional painter of growing reputation in the Calcutta art world.

These early academic pictures showed more than a mere facility for painting in the European medium. Despite the sentimental use of colour and the literary vision, they nevertheless revealed a mastery and technical assurance which, even at the age of twenty-one, put him far above any of his immediate contemporaries. As an example of this accomplishment, his self-portrait with the Vandyke beard is still to be seen to-day by anyone visiting his Calcutta studio.

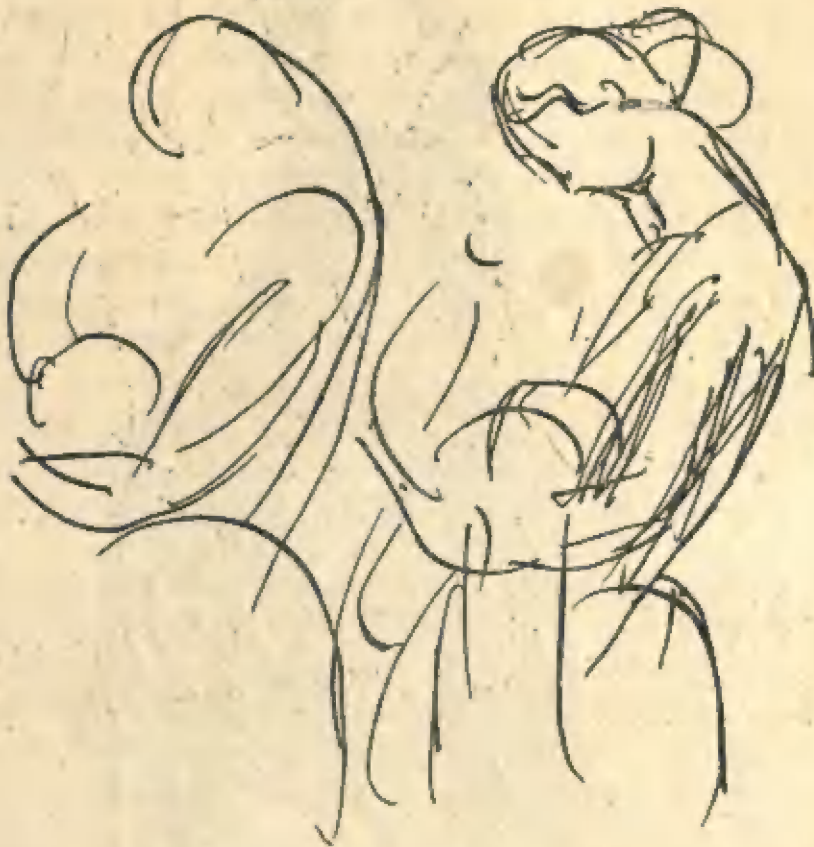
It would be relevant at this point to mention that Jamini Roy had begun to take a keen interest in the theatre. For more than twenty years it remained his only interest apart from painting. It was not the upper-class amateur theatre that attracted him, but the popular theatre which still survives in certain parts of Calcutta and can be described as a cross between music-hall, pantomime and religious melodrama. There is something of the Elizabethan atmosphere about these performances: the same type of boisterous humour and the same vital tension between actors and audience. It was an important influence for Jamini Roy, because it helped him with a sense of reality and illusion, developing the vision of essential forms before the long-ranging eye.

The decisive moment in Jamini Roy's development as a painter arrived when, at the age of about thirty-four, he felt that he could no longer continue to paint in the European tradition. He came to realise that freedom to experiment is possible only for the artist who shares something of the social consciousness of the tradition in which he is painting. Without this consciousness, there can be neither vision nor genuine feeling: at best one can hope to show a certain skill and mastery of method which, however useful as part of the equipage of a painter, is of little value in itself as long as it draws nothing from the deeper sources of creativeness.

This, in fact, is the position in which every painter in India finds himself if he continues to work in the tradition of European humanism. It was an awareness common to most of Jamini Roy's contemporaries, but whereas the others, and among them painters of considerable talent and promise, fell back upon the barren choice of revivalism or compromise, Jamini Roy was the only painter of his generation who found a forward solution. Perhaps the only solution. For where else in India to-day does the tradition assert itself except in the life and culture of the people?

We have already tried to show how in Hindu art the popular mind has always triumphed, how it has supplied the myths which bound the

मित्राजी = ?
देविजी + गान्धारी



people together in their only pattern of community culture. But so far we have dwelt mainly on the sociological aspect : there still remains to be considered how the basic forms of folk-art helped Jamini Roy to find a personal idiom and to solve his own private problems as a painter.

It would be wrong to suggest as some critics have done, either in praise or censure, that Jamini Roy was a revivalist. The important point to recognise is that he approached folk-art not as an outsider, but as one who had an intimate knowledge and understanding of the living experiences of the people where lay the roots of the folk-culture itself.

[Leaving aside the question of Jamini Roy's use of the late Kalighat pat with its "suburban coarseness" in subject-matter and its tendency



towards obesity in line, let us consider the nature of Bengal folk-painting in general. It is of course through formal symbolism and decorative rhythm, and not through representation, that folk-painting asserts its vitality and derives its enduring power of communication. Jamini Roy never had to pursue Gauguin's far-away search for equivalence and symbolism, nor was it necessary for him to study the paintings of Matisse in order to develop an "integral vision". Level surfaces, a central focus, and the flattening-out of design-in-depth are conventional features of Bengal folk-painting. So is the use of pure and positive colours which, for tonality, depend upon the mutual interaction of full-tones and the equalisation of planes. The strong Indian light which helps relief sculpture rather than mural paintings does not encourage the gradation of tones, nor does it support the illusion of aerial perspective.

But how did these unself-conscious and technically immature village craftsmen arrive at these basic forms and primary colours? Did they arrive at them accidentally as children sometimes do under pressure of their own urge to communicate, making full use of the economy of their technical weakness? Jamini Roy thinks that in the case of Bengal folk-art it was originally a question of conscious choice, and that in view of the co-existence of a technically mature and classical school of art in India, Bengal folk-painting cannot quite be compared to Negro art or to early cave-painting. At the same time, however, the minds which work in these mediums have certain traits in common: a healthy and direct attitude to life, an earthiness dynamically related to the unseen, and in the art itself a certain self-assurance and vitality patterned against a hostile world.

Such artists have never had any desire to imitate our inimitable nature; they wanted only to convey the feeling and the vision of a mind reacting to the *universals* of nature. The simplicity as well as the symbolic quality and purity of form, common to most primitive art as well as to all folk-painting, derive precisely from this urge to communicate in a world of universals—a world

— 7. dull out
primitive
symbolism
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clash & beauty

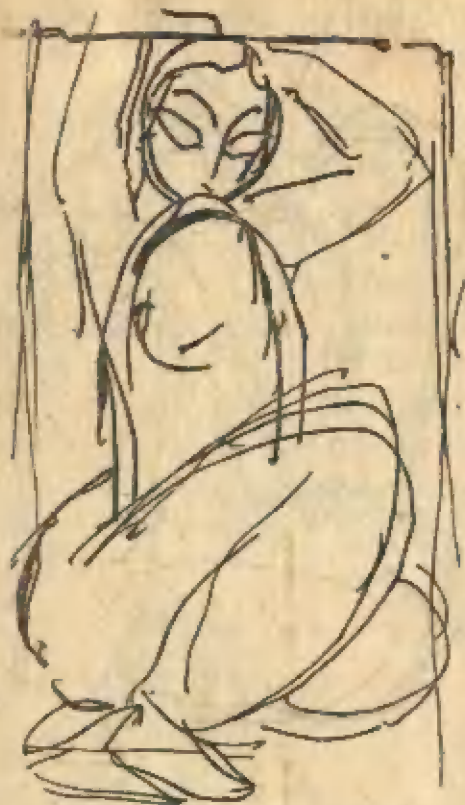
does not necessarily
elaborate, perhaps
that function?

①
yes. Had some
folk-artists + 12
modern group



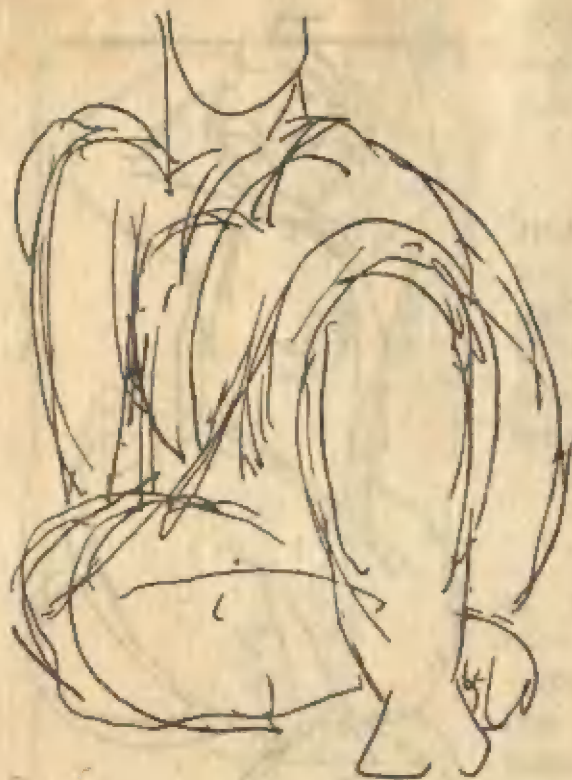
where, for instance, all trees are reduced to the single conceptual image of one tree, the universal tree, stripped of individual identity.

Where the Bengal folk-artist differs from the Altamira cave-painter is not here but in the full-grown myths which were known only by the former. It is the myths which crystallised and supported the popular art of Bengal and provided the only focus-point around which a whole culture could cohere.



+1975/11? Prehistoric man, in his desire to catch and fix the moment—the dance, the ritual, or the hunt—could paint only spasmodically and in fragments which were neither related between themselves nor inter-linked by any cultural pattern. It required a mythology before such fragments could cohere into a unified pattern of culture.

Bengal had the myths and therefore the culture. The universals of nature with which the cave-painter had been preoccupied, now gained a new significance as symbols. Take, for instance, Jatayu, the immortal chivalrous bird of the Ramayana: he is no ornithological specimen, but he nevertheless has something of the character of all birds. Or take Hanuman who, in the Indian myth-world, is a monkey-god: he is not the type of monkey one would expect to find at the Zoo, and yet every zoo-monkey is related in some way to Hanuman. There is cohesion in this world of Jatayu, Hanuman, and the Rakshasas—a cohesion which is lacking in the cave-paintings at Altamira; and in so far as these myths make one universal world valid and living, they are a constant social encouragement to pure art.



One can explain this conversely by saying that it is only within the social patterns of culture that abstractions of form achieve significance as symbols. The purer the form or abstraction, the more it must depend upon a background of myths if it is to carry content or pictorial value. Without these myths, formal shorthand is no more than geometry; and geometry, however compelling in precision, can never qualify as creative art.

Europe of course built its myths on Christianity.

And as long as these myths were valid in social belief, Europe had a continuous and varied art history which was a part of living experience. When we come to Rembrandt, however, we find that this myth has been breaking down under new social conditions, and for the first time in European painting the emphasis is on method on the one hand and on the other the individuality of the subject. Since then the breach has been widened even further; and the suffering of a Picasso, a Braque or a Rouault to-day is in a sense even greater than Rembrandt's. Perhaps when the new way of life acquires its own myth under socialist humanism, artists in Europe will cease from their heroic experiments in individuality as Picasso's career and his joining the Communists seem to suggest already. In the meantime, the most we can expect of them is a turning forward towards the oncoming myth—not a turning backward, however sincere, like Gauguin and, in

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"Community"

a different way, Van Gogh, for such a choice is bound to result in self-limitations.

Jamini Roy, of course, had these doubts which in Europe led to such disruptions of form; but he also had the tradition of folk-culture to fall back upon. Here lies his strength and perhaps, as his detractors would say, his weakness. For while to-day this folk-culture still persists, in however fragmentary a form, the social structure on which it depends is already breaking down towards something new and as yet indistinct. The cleavage, although much less acute than in Europe, is already there. And this perhaps explains the contradiction we find in Jamini Roy (as we find it in all European painters since the Renaissance) of the anonymous functional role of art and art as a luxury commodity in a commercial age.

Nevertheless, in spite of the contradiction, Jamini Roy is doing the only thing possible, for whatever pattern of community life India is going to have, this folk-culture will almost certainly provide the connecting initiative. Moreover, art and propaganda are more easily reconciled in those countries where the folk-tradition is still living; and in India it is doubtful whether propaganda can ever have power without drawing upon this formal heritage of the community life.

The lonely search for form became for Jamini Roy a great intellectual adventure. No painter, not even Cézanne, has treated his art more seriously; few have sacrificed more to it. His life has been a struggle to achieve integrity in painting, and for this he has endured years of unremitting, often unrewarded, labour.





Form and content are, of course, indivisible : but to realise this in terms of painting and to achieve a higher organic integration, it is necessary to pass through a period of separate apprehension of form. One finds this illustrated in the development not only of individual artists, but also of whole cultures. Perhaps one might say that the Greeks passed through this period of separate apprehension, but that the Etruscans

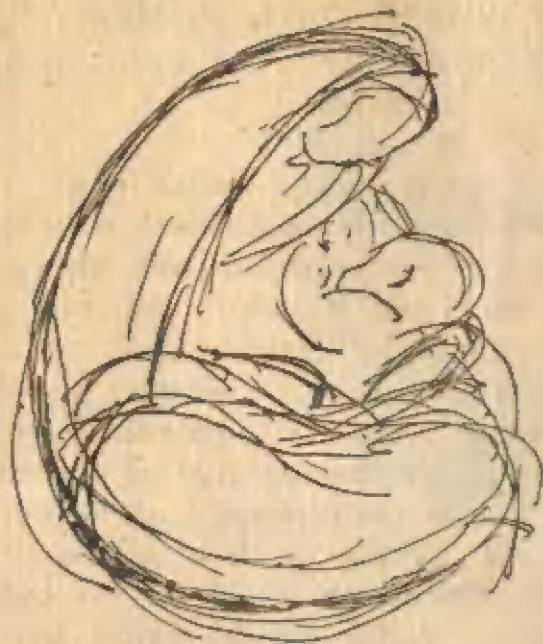
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did not ; just as Cézanne did, but perhaps Manet did not. Which is not to say that there is no formal beauty in some pictures by Manet ; but, after all, it was Cézanne, not Manet, who achieved this higher organic integration.

Jamini Roy's experiments were not forced on himself simply by will or intellect. The whole personality was involved, which made this change not a break but a development. Anyone familiar with his early oils will be aware of this point: the Santhal girl dressing her hair with flowers, set against the pinkish glow of an evening landscape ; or the Hindu woman at evening prayer before the Tulasi altar, silhouetted against a sentimental sky ; or the Mohammedan at his *namaz* facing the red glow of a setting sun—all these can be compared to the early pictures of the new phase, for example, the head and shoulder portrait of the Baul (Fig. p. 20), which shows the combination in one picture of the sentimental pink-vermilion of his academic period and the strong formal qualities of his later development.

When Jamini Roy's father died, the family estate was divided among the three sons. Jamini's share was barely sufficient to support a wife and growing family. Moreover, he did not feel himself fitted for the responsibilities of a landowner and preferred to depend on his painter's profession. This meant great financial hardship, for it was not to be expected that the rich patrons of his academic period would maintain interest in this new departure. It should also be explained that the older Calcutta upper-class who patronised art was playing out its polite role, and giving way to the new commercial bourgeoisie ; Jamini Roy was sensitive to the consequent change of values, and henceforth began to feel the importance of the "intelligentsia" who, despite their lack of means, were nevertheless the only group in society which preserved its own standards of integrity.

During these years of financial hardship the family had



much to suffer. It would be wrong, however, to suggest that Jamini Roy sacrificed the interests of his family to his art. Anyone who visits him at his home and sees him with his wife and children is immediately aware of the united sense of great work being done. The devotion and loyalty of his wife, who after all does not know much about art, but knows the importance of art to her husband, can perhaps be explained only within the context of the Hindu attitude to marriage.

We mention the children advisedly, because from the children and particularly from their drawings he derived courage to continue with his experiments in simplification. Jimut, the elder son (who later met his death in a tragic accident in the jungle), was a gay and promising youth who had the right kind of audacity as a draughtsman from which the father could learn. Patal, his fourth son, who also has outstanding gifts, is still working with him now.

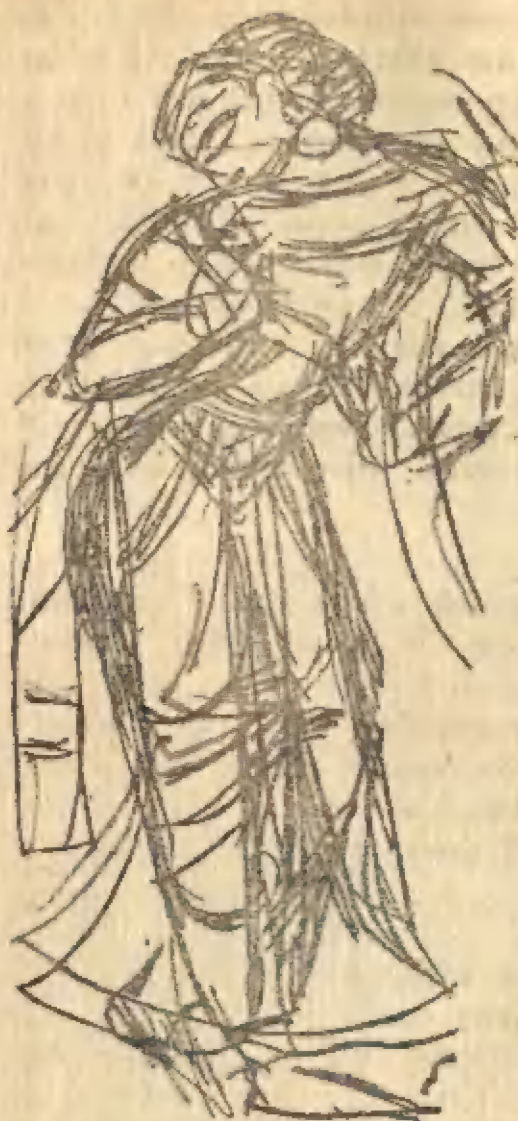
In his choice of media, Jamini Roy showed the same desire for simplification. Expensive oils were given up in favour of tempera and the cheap materials of the village craftsmen. His palette was usually limited to only seven colours : Indian red, yellow-ochre, cadmium green, vermilion, grey, blue and white. The first four were made from local rock-dust, mixed with the glue of tamarind seeds, or occasionally white-of-egg, to give adhesion. Vermilion was made from the mercury

powder used by Hindu women in their ritual-worship. Grey was a composition of alluvial mud; blue was made from indigo, and white from common chalk. The linear brush-drawings (Plate V) were done in lampblack. Using for canvas the cheap home-spun cloth of his village, he prepared it as a basis for paint by coating it with a mixture of alluvial soil and cow-dung, followed by whitewash. At other times he painted directly on cheap three-ply wood (having first prepared the surface in a similar manner), or else on cheap hand-made cardboard or on the rough side of poster-paper. It must be admitted that Jamini Roy was not always successful in these experiments, with the unfortunate result that some of the best paintings of his early period have already lost their hue.) *Most awful!*

The first new quality to emerge after a long period of formal experiment was a rhythm and a sense of poise which achieved its fullest expression in the monumental lyricism of his early panel pictures with Vaishnava themes, exemplified here by "Krishna and Balaram" (Plate VI). Professor Suhrawardy, in the first article published on Jamini Roy, gives an admirable summary of the essential quality of these paintings:

"...Not only are the lines drawn with an unswerving wrist but the colouring is the most exact and accurate for his purposes. They are summary accounts in our folk and mediæval tradition of human form. The work is replete with latent vigour and so it is wrong to describe him, as it is so often done, a decorative painter. Pictures of such monumentality may incidentally serve a decorative purpose but they are really pure realisations of form executed to fulfil a disciplined artistic intention with a high





Muslim fakirs and Vaishnava singers—these were the subjects which preoccupied him no less than mythological and conventional themes.

Perhaps he was helped in his later studies of these people by the nationalist movement of the nineteen-twenties which kindled a new sense of pride and unity in village life and changed

sense of artistic responsibility. In these panels the volumes are situated in space in a manner which shows the strong grasp he has of plasticity and yet his figures belong essentially to painting and are not sculptural, a temptation to which a lesser artist would easily have yielded."

Jamini Roy contends that all good pictures ought to stand enlargement. This is interesting when we consider that only basic form can withstand the exposure of increased size.

He has never at any time been limited in subject-matter, and even as an academic painter his range had been wider than that of any of his contemporaries. The village cultivators, the smiths, the carpenters, the women at Puja, and the men of the various tribes and sects, Bauls, Santhals, Mallas, the

the attitude of the upper-classes towards those who laboured on the soil. These paintings (Plates IV and X) have something of the recognisability of portraits, and yet, the human features are first and foremost those of types rather than individuals. This is significant when we consider that Jamini Roy, the purest painter in Bengal, is at the same time the painter who responds most sensitively to the distinctive characteristics of these sects and tribes.

But he was not of course content to rest here. He went on searching for purer line and even more abstract form, which led him next to the brush-drawings in lampblack. The monumental quality of the panel-pictures reasserts itself with greater subtlety in the best of these brush drawings (Plate V), deriving a new purity from the calm of mind of the Indian lampblack and a certain sense of inevitability from the curved and elliptic sweeps of minimum line.

[These brush-drawings, although of only limited interest by themselves, were nevertheless important as a direct link in his development towards the studies of Christ. It is sometimes asked why an



orthodox Hindu who has never even read the New Testament should be interested in the subject of Christ. Jamini Roy gives several reasons. In the first place, he wanted to find out if his new technique could be applied with equal effect to a subject remote from his personal life. And for this purpose the Christian myth seemed a suitable choice. He was further encouraged by the fact that he had seen photo-reproductions of the Renaissance masterpieces which had left him dissatisfied. It was wrong, he thought, that these painters should attempt to convey the essentially human character of Christ by naturalistic or representational means; and he wanted to show that the human and the divine could be made one only by abstract, symbolic means. How far this specific aim is justified, and how far it has been successful, is left to individual judgement; but in any case it cannot be denied that he has introduced into these portraits a new tenderness and a quality of intense homeliness which neither the Byzantine, with his abstract intensity and other-worldly mysticism, nor the humanist painter, with his essentially human conception of Christ, had ever quite captured. We are inclined to think that this has been done before only by the mediaeval folk-artists of Western Europe, or perhaps by the simple-minded and pious authors of the Russian icon (a popularisation of, but distinct from, the Byzantine icon). In particular, one can find a close parallel between Jamini Roy's studies of Christ (Plates XI, XII) and the anonymous French folk-painters of the 12th century whom Gauguin copied. Whilst subordinating the structure of the face to decorative rhythm, the artist, in both cases, depends on isolated facial features (the eyes, the mouth and the beard) to convey a quality of homeliness and human warmth. We doubt whether this could be done by a painter who shares either the Byzantine's burning consciousness of Original Sin, or the Renaissance painter's commercial paganism.]

The genuine religious feeling in Jamini Roy's Christ studies is striking; and here again we trace the assimilating mind of Hinduism at work, for perhaps it would be true to say that only the Hindu (who 1900 years ago gave asylum to St. Thomas) can experience genuine feeling





for a religious myth that is essentially foreign to his own belief.

After these Christ studies, the best of which were painted four or five years ago, what next? It must have seemed to the few who knew him at that time that there could be no end to such a consistent development. And yet, from then onwards, and during the years that he gradually came to wider recognition, we have to admit that there is no advance—only a restless patching of past achievements. Why?

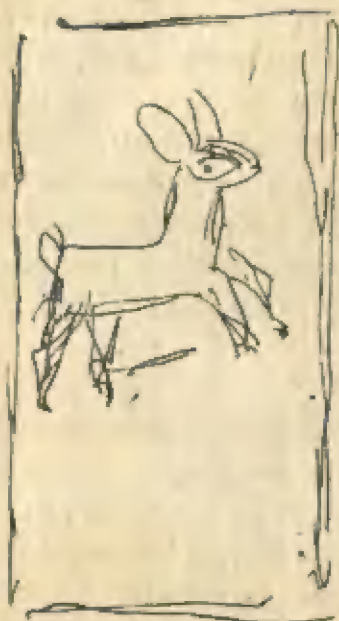
The process of an artist's development, reduced to its simplest terms, is a reintegration of art and experience. The real moment of change comes when the tumultuous and fragmentary impressions of the sensibility find a new point or centre in the mind on which they can converge and take the shape of a new vision. But for this process to take place the mind must first make its own adjustment to the outside world; it must be able to see the dynamic nature of social life and its movement forward from origin. Unless the mind is predisposed in this way, no development is possible, however rich the mind, and sooner or later the stability, so necessary for pure art-work, imposes its own limitations.

The human mind does not exist in a vacuum. It is not still-born, nor is it a monad. Left to itself, in the end it must feed upon itself, like the serpent in Valéry's poem. Which is not to deny that self-consciousness carries its own residues, and its own momentum. But sooner or later the objective world must imprint its Gestalt-images in some manner. So that there is no independence, no purity—not even for the most closed mind. The purest escape is escape with a past and with memories, and in art such an escape must inevitably lead to repetition, even for the most inexhaustible mind.

In the case of Jamini Roy it is not a mind to be compared with that of a painter like, say, Renoir, who went on painting marvellous bodies all his life without storm or stress: nor can it be compared to the serene indifference of a Titian in old age. Jamini Roy has shown both the storm and the stress. He has developed and experimented. We have tried to show the sources of this development and the conditions which made it possible. But the same conditions impose boundaries, too; and Jamini Roy has not the happy physicality of a Renoir which, without the need of any *Weltanschauung* keeps a man firmly rooted in concrete living. On the other hand, he has nothing in common with Picasso's intellectual curiosity, nor his world-outlook.



Jamini Roy's triumph has been the unity of head and hand. But if as we say, the development is to continue, this unity has constantly to achieve fresh organic integration. If only the hand comes to function and if there remains only an air of facility, the reason is not in an atrophy of the mind itself but in a failure of the



mind to re-adjust itself to the objective world which is various and changing.

This, we believe, is the reason why Jamini Roy, like Matisse in his day, has been unable to move forward. His purity has been personal, his clearing-ground too large an area of human life. There is not one violent man, not one shrewish woman, in the whole of Jamini Roy's world, with its calm of mind and subdued passion. He has been a martyr to his own mastery. Yet, as Sudhindranath Datta wrote: "He now possesses a technique comprehensive enough to cope with almost everything; and, could he but enlarge his sympathy,

the demonstrations of organised labour should present him with fewer formal difficulties than the excesses of a Kirtan "procession."

Despite the lack of fresh achievement in recent years, Jamini Roy's work nevertheless remains a marvel. He was given no aid by the atmosphere of Calcutta's world of art, nor had he access, even through books, to the contemporary art world in Europe where he would have found his fellow spirits. Yet, in the lonely struggle, he has painted magnificent pictures; and our gratitude asks us here: could we humanly expect more?



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAINTINGS

- Plate I. "Mother and Child" c. 1932.
Tempera, 30" x 14".
From the private collection of Mrs. Pranati Dey, Calcutta.
- Plate II. "Santhal Girl" c. 1924.
Tempera, 21" x 14½".
From the private collection of Prof. Stella Kramrisch, Calcutta.
- Plate III. "Pujari Women" c. 1929.
Tempera, 36" x 13".
From the private collection of Mr. Tulasi C. Goswami, Calcutta.
- Plate IV. "Baul Group" c. 1931.
Tempera, 32" x 15".
From the private collection of Mr. Satischandra Bose, Calcutta.
- Plate V. "Widows" c. 1928.
In lampblack, 27½" x 13½".
From the private collection of Mrs. Pranati Dey, Calcutta.
- Plate VI. "Krishna and Balaram" c. 1932.
Tempera, 54" x 31½".
Owned by the artist.
- Plate VII. "Santhal Dance" 1934.
Tempera, 34½" x 16½".
From the private collection of Mrs. Mrinalini Emmerson, Calcutta.
- Plate VIII. "Santhal couple" 1934.
Tempera, 24" x 11".
From the private collection of Captain John Irwin, Calcutta.
- Plate IX. "Village Carpenter" 1938.
Tempera, 28" x 20".
From the private collection of Mr. Sachindra Chaudhuri, Calcutta.
- Plate X. "Kirtan Group" 1931.
Tempera, 24" x 11½".
From the private collection of Mrs. Pranati Dey, Calcutta.
- Plate XI. "Christ and Two Disciples" 1937.
Tempera, 24½" x 11½".
From the private collection of Captain John Irwin, Calcutta.

- Plate XII. "Christ" 1938.
Tempera, 12" x 8½"
From the private collection of Mr. Shahid Suhrawardy, Calcutta.
- Plate XIII. (a) "Tiger with Fish" 1942:
Tempera, 12" x 10½".
From the private collection of Captain John Irwin, Calcutta.
(b) "Elephant" 1943.
Tempera, 12" x 8½".
From the private collection of Sudhindranath Datta, Calcutta.
- Plate XIV. Earthen Jar, painted in tempera, 26" x 15". 1944.
From the private collection of Mrs. R. G. Casey, Calcutta.
- Page 114. "Head and Shoulders of a Baul" 1921.
Tempera, 19½" x 13".
From the private collection of Mr. Susovan Sarkar, Calcutta.
- Page 124. "Christ's Body with the Virgins" 1943.
Tempera, 14" x 7".
From the private collection of Captain John Irwin, Calcutta.
- Frontispiece : Jamini Roy.
(Photograph by J. A. Denney).

DRAWINGS

The drawings reproduced in the text are presented chronologically and cover the years 1912-1944. They are reproduced by kind permission of the artist.

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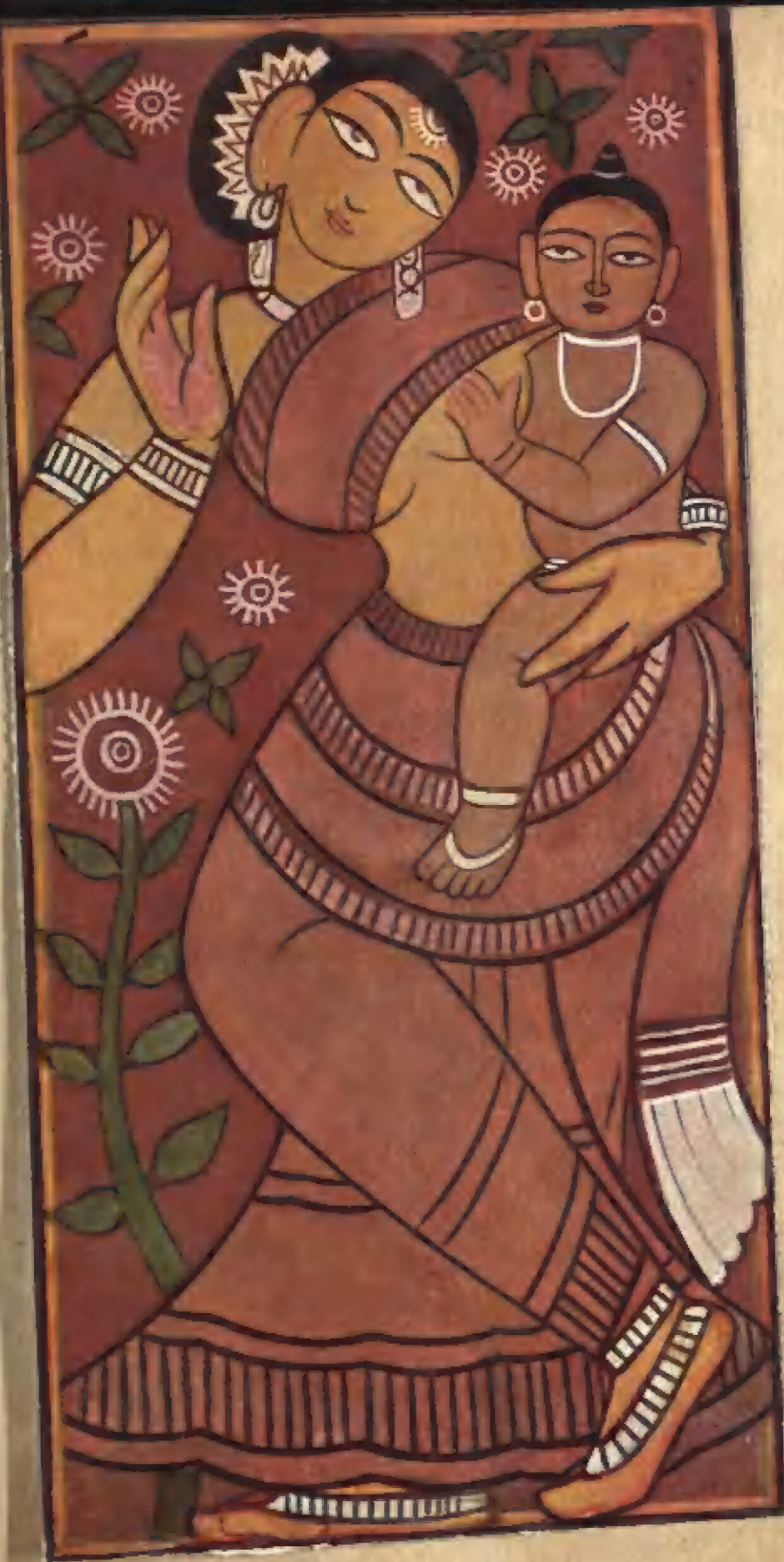
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PLATES

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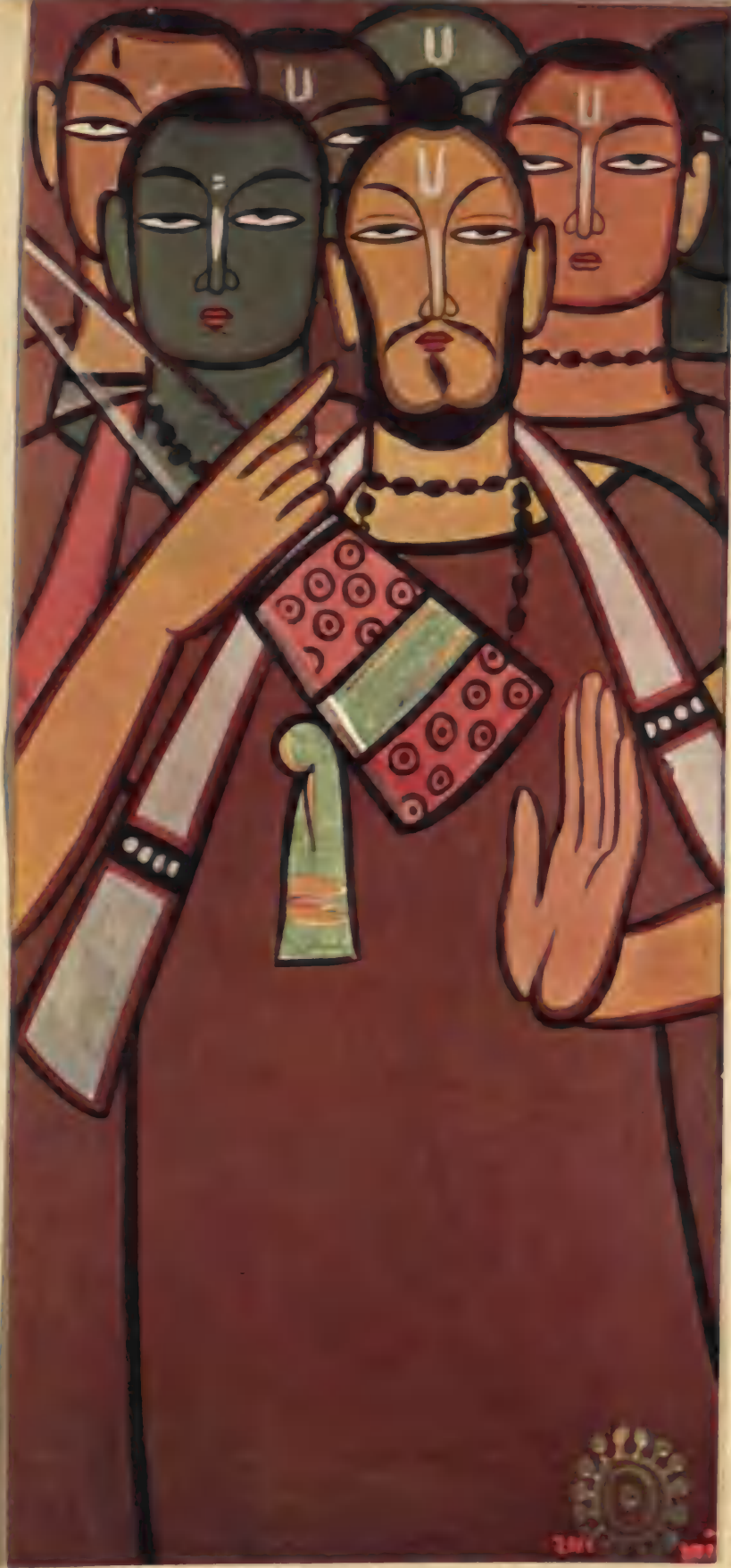
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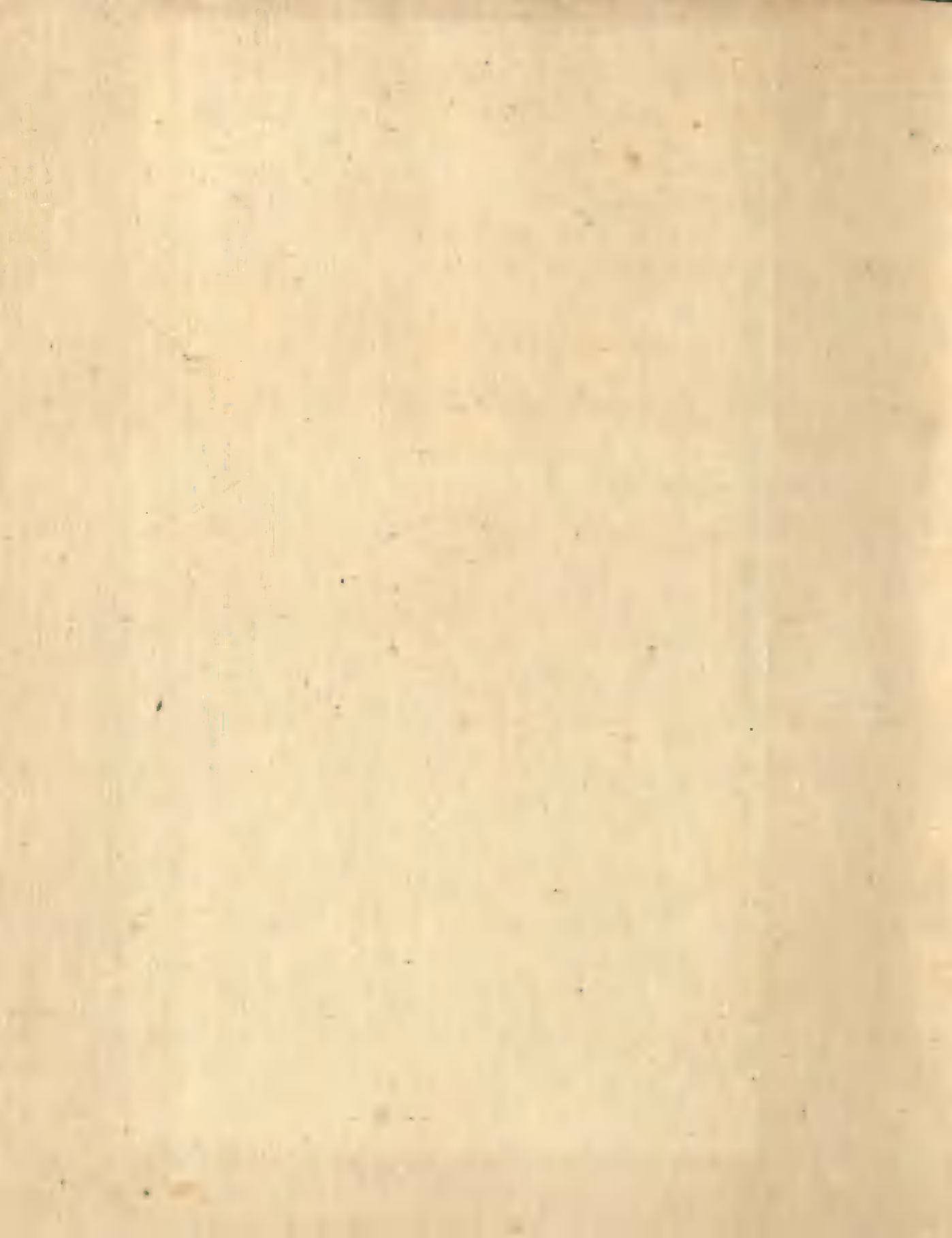










































IMAGES OF SĀMBA

by JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

In Vol. X of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, I drew the attention of scholars to the correct interpretation of the term Pañcaviṣṇi-vīras occurring in the Mora well inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Sodasa's time. I pointed out how Lueders was mistaken on the authority of Alsdorf in identifying these five Vṛṣṇi heroes with Baladeva, Akrura, Anādhṛṣṭi, Sāraṇa and Viduratha. I proved on the basis of unmistakable Purāṇic data, how these Pañca-vīras of the Vṛṣṇis, reference to the enshrinement of whose images is to be found in the above named inscription, were to be correctly identified with Saṃkarṣaṇa-Baladeva, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Aniruddha—who were 'manuṣya-prakṛti' Devas. Leaving Sāmba alone, the four others really constitute the Caturvyūhas of the Pāñcarātrins—a belief in which was one of their most important doctrinal tenets. But from the Purāṇic as well as inscriptional data, it is clear that Sāmba, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa's son by Jāmbavatī, who, though reviled and held up to ridicule in certain comparatively late Epic and Purāṇic passages, was undoubtedly the object of great veneration among the Pāñca-rātrins in the early formative period of their religious system.

The early iconographic texts refer to his images, and I shall try to show in this paper whether extant images of this god who was originally a human being can be recognised among a class of sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period from Mathurā. These are seated figures, some shown riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, while in the case of others the chariot is either completely absent or faintly suggested only. These figures are usually dressed according to the mode of the northerners (udīcya-veśa), and hold in their two hands either lotus flowers (not very distinct in many cases) or a mace, a sword and other indistinct objects. They are either described by modern scholars as so many images of Sūrya or statues of some Kuṣāṇa kings, according as their attributes are

clearly recognisable. Even when the latter are indistinct, other iconographic traits seem to give out their identity.

Thus, one of the earliest such figures recovered from the Saptasamudrī well at Mathurā could be distinctly recognised as Sūrya not only from the quadriga in which he is placed and the plain halo with the indication of rays behind his head, but also from the small shoulder wings (peculiar to this example—this feature alludes to the R̥gvedic conception of Sūrya as a beautiful winged celestial bird—'divya suparna garutmān') though the objects held in the hands are not clear. Sometimes these figures do not hold lotus flowers at all but carry a club (gadā) in the right hand and a staff (daṇḍa) in the left; yet these have been described as Sūrya on account of the northern dress and the faint indication of a chariot drawn by four horses of which the front pair only is shown (but in these cases the presence of a quadriga is usually surmised by the peculiar sitting posture of the principal figure—'with knees raised, i. e. riding in a car'—Coomaraswamy). One such sculpture now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, (Boston Mus. 21.1706), has been described by Coomaraswamy thus: "—Sūrya—squatting figure with knees raised, i.e. riding in a car, wearing a conical cap or helmet, chain armour, a 'dhoti' ? and boots ? or socks, also ear-rings, necklace, bracelets and perhaps a sacred thread. The right hand holds a club (gadā), the left a staff (daṇḍa). Horses represented below to right and left, the front pair (of the four) only being clearly defined. Whether or not the deity is intended to be represented as wearing high boots, as is usual in the early northern forms with Iranian affinities can not be clearly determined in the worn state of the sculpture. Apparently some kind of leg armor is intended. The absence of any indication of toes suggests the use of sock or boot."¹

The identification suggested in this case apparently rests on very sound data, but the attributes in the hands of the figure stand somewhat in the way. Neither can it be however identified as a Kuṣāṇa royal statuette, for its other iconographic traits indicate its affinity with the north Indian Sūrya type. It seems that this is one of the ways in which

1. This sculpture is made of cream-coloured Mathurā sandstone; it is dated in the first century A.D.; Coomaraswamy, 'Catalogue of the Indian collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', Vol. 2, 'Sculpture', 1928, p. 46.

Sāmba was represented in early times when his worship was in vogue, and his mythical association with the north Indian Sūrya cult is probably emphasised by the artist in this manner; one type of Sūrya image, as I shall show afterwards, was known as Sāmbāditya. Two other images, one of them in the Mathurā Museum, are described by Coomaraswamy as 'representing a royal personage, apparently a Kuṣāṇa king in tunic and boots, with the same attributes, but without horses, and seated on a throne flanked by lions and marked in front by a fire altar; the other in purely Indian costume, torso nude, and holding in the left hand a cup, and flanked by two small figures of women, is apparently a Bacchanalian Yakṣa' (H. I. I. A., p. 68). This last, a little summarily described, may stand for Sāmba and may not represent a mere Bacchanalian Yakṣa as surmised by Coomaraswamy. In it the staff usually placed in the left hand of such figures is replaced by a drinking cup, the attribute in the right hand, a club, being left unchanged; it should be noted that the dress is purely Indian. The female attendants and the wine cup presumably led Coomaraswamy to describe it as the figure of a sensual Yakṣa. But the club or a 'gadā' in the right hand fully tallies with the description of Sāmba in the iconographic texts. The 'Bṛhatsaṃhitā' (ch. 57, 40) tells us that Sāmba should be represented with a club in his hand (Sāmbaśca gadāhasta), while the same text refers to the image of his consort holding a shield. The 'Viṣṇudharmottara' (Book III, ch. 85) also enjoins that the image of Sāmba should be made in a similar manner '(Sāmbaḥ kāryo gadāhastaḥ surūpaśca viśeṣataḥ)'. The drinking vessel in the left hand of the last Mathurā sculpture can be explained with the Epic and Purāṇic references to Sāmba's love for wine,—barring Vāsudeva the other constituents of either the Caturvyūhas or the Pañcavīras have this weakness. The 'Mahābhārata' (I. 219, 9) describes Sāmba and Raukmiṇeya (i. e. Pradyumna) as well-clad, wearing celestial garlands and garments and roaming like so many gods a little worse for the drink at a festival (Raukmiṇeyaśca Sāmbaśca kṣīvau samaradur-madau Divyamālyāambaradharau vijarhāte marāriva¹). Other types of

1. Iconographic texts dealing with the images of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Aniruddha often lay stress on their inebriety, and images of the former with a wine cup in one of his hands are well-known. A suggestion can be offered in this connection; all of the sculpture groups of Mathurā showing sportive and inebriate postures may not stand for the so-called Bacchanalian Yakṣas. In some at least we may see the boisterously mirthful Yādavas of yore represented in the company of their sweethearts.

Sāmba's image of early date should be sought for at Mathurā and its environs and my own impression is that they are to be found among the sculpture group noticed above. What Coomaraswamy describes as the statue of a Kuṣāṇa king (HIA. p. 68; Fig. 64) is hesitatingly identified as the figure of Sūrya by Vogel ('Ars Asiatica', Vol. XV, p.46), on account of what appears to be a lotus bud in his right hand, and several other features. Mythologically, Sāmba like his father appears to be much more intimately associated with Mathurā than with Dwārka. He is specially remembered for the part played by him in the introduction of a new form of Sun worship in India.¹ Of the several places in northern India which are mentioned in the Purāṇas containing Sūrya shrines first established by Sāmba, Mathurā is one². The 'Varāha Purāṇa' says that when Sāmba on being enjoined by Nārada to go to Udayācala for the worship of the Sun so as to be cured of his leprosy expressed his inability to travel so far on account of his deformity and disease, he was advised to worship the god at Mathurā.³ After establishing three Sun temples, one at Udayagiri, another named Kālapriya south of the Yamunā, and the third named Mūlasthāna on the Astamānācala, Sāmba⁴ also enshrined another image of the Sun, named Sāmbapura, at Mathurā.⁴ Sāmba's association with Mathurā in the early and late mythology is, thus, very intimate, and it is in the fitness of things that his image should be found there. A few sculptures of the above group which can not be definitely identified as figures of Sūrya can with some justification be identified as figures representing Sāmba, even when they bear some non-Indian traits like the 'udīcyaveśa'. Be it noted that the new form of Sun worship which Sāmba is said to have introduced in India was a modified form of Iranian

1. B. G. Bhandarkar, 'Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems', pp. 153-56.

2. R. C. Hazra, 'Three most prominent places of Sun-worship in ancient India', 'Bhāratīya Vidya' 1948, pp. 212-16.

3. 'Varāha Purāṇa,' ch. 177, 28 and 30: Yathodayācale devamārīdhya labhate phalam/ Mathurāyām tathā gatvā astūrye labhate phalam.....Kṛṣṇagaṅgodbhāve anāte sūryamārīdhya yathataḥ/Śarvaspāpavinirmuktāḥ kuṣṭhādibhyo vimucyate//

4. Ibid., Ch. 177, 54-5 :—Mathurāyām tathā caikam sthāpya Sāmba vasundhara/Svanāmnā sthāpayāmnā purāpavidhinā vrayam// Evaṁ Sāmbapuram nāma Mathurāpām kulāvaram.....

Mithra worship, and some similarity in the sculptural representation between the cult-picture and its supposed introducer can be surmised.¹

That Sāmba fell from the high estimation of the Bhāgavatas in comparatively late times is proved by the fact that no importance at all is given to him in later texts dealing with Vaiṣṇavite iconography. The earlier iconographic texts like the chapter 57 of the 'Bṛhatsamhitā' and Book III, chapter 58 of the 'Viṣṇudharmottara', as we have already seen, clearly describe Sāmba images, whereas the later ones which are incorporated in such Purāṇas, like the 'Agni', 'Matsya', etc., as well as those which form parts of other works, do not refer to his image, though they describe the images of sundry other gods. Sāmba does not find a place in the reconstructed list of the Vyūha's, their number being subsequently raised to 24 (Caturviṃśatimūrttayaḥ), though the three other members of the Pañcaviṇśas, viz., Saṃkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha retain their place in it. No independent image of Sāmba of Gupta or later date is known to me, and such images were most probably no longer needed by the Pāñcarātrins in their worship. The Great Epic (cf. the account of the destruction of the Yadus as given in the Muṣala parva) refers to him as the ostensible cause of the calamitous end of the Yādavas. Some of the Purāṇas like the 'Varāha' (ch. 177) and others mention the incestuous conduct of this son of Jāmbavatī with his 1600 (or 16000, as the 'Varāha' says) stepmothers, for which he was cursed by his father Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa to be a deformed leper. All these facts definitely prove that he was out of court with the orthodox sectaries. But why is this disgrace, why is this obloquy which is cast upon the head of one who was once one of the holiest (Bhagavat) and an object of devoted love and adoration ? Is it for his earlier mythical association with the Śaiva-sect :—The story of his birth is told in the Anuśāsana parva of the 'Mahābhārata' ; Sāmba was born to Jāmbavatī as a result of Śiva's grace—

1. Of the 'Bhaviṣya Purāṇa' version of the story of Sāmba's instrumentality in the introduction of this cult in India. The 'Varāha Purāṇa's account omits all references to Śakadwīpa and the Magis—the Maga-Bṛāhmadevas of the former, and thus is an evident attempt to indianise the whole theme. Reference to the Magadwīpas is to be found in the 'Agni-purāṇa' account of the Śakadwīpa, where we are told that Hari assumed the form of Sūrya (119. 21) ; cf. Also 'Brahma Purāṇa', XX. 71f ; 'Kūrma Purāṇa', I. 48. 86—7.

or for his later connection with the north Indian Sun cult which was certainly introduced into India from outside—both of which were undoubtedly formidable rivals of the Pāñcarātra-Bhāgavata-Vaiṣṇava sect at one time or other? But what is the real explanation of the origin of these myths? Why is poor Sāmba singled out from among the Pāñcaviṣṇi-vīras for all these myths which presumably had such a disastrous result on his position in the cult? Was it because he was the son of Jāmbavatī, the daughter of the Ṛkṣa or Kapi-rāja Jāmbavān who as his mythical accounts in the Epics and Purāṇas show did not belong to the Āryan race?

VISHNU, THE ALL-PERVADING PRINCIPLE

(श्री विष्णु तत्व)

by SHRI SVAMI HARIHARANAND SARASWATI (KARPATRI-JI) :

The word Viṣṇu² comes from the root (विष्) meaning 'to pervade'; hence, the all-pervading Supreme Principle and Supreme Self is called Viṣṇu, the Pervader.³ The Eternal Wisdom tells us that it is the Principle, the Brahman,

यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जीवन्ति, यत्प्रयत्यमिसंविशन्ति ।

"whence all these elements have come forth, by which once born they exist, into which they enter and dissolve."

This implies that, in the Energy which gives rise to the thousands of Universes, there must already potentially exist the particularisation of an ascending tendency (sattvā) whose nature is illumination,

1. Abridged translation and notes by Śhivā Śharap (Alain Danielou) with permission from "Siddhant" (Benares)

English revised with Ethel Merston.

2. The Sanskrit alphabet represents a complete phonetic system. This characteristic is not preserved in the method of transliteration generally accepted.

Preserving the usual system of transliteration, we have, in an attempt to facilitate a more accurate pronunciation, here adopted the following additional signs :

(a) Letters added are underlined. e. g. : h, i in chandrā, Rik.

(b) An apostrophe replaces the suppressed double of a consonant. e. g. : kach'hū instead of kacchhū or kacchhū.

(c) Mute vowels bear a 'short' accent. e. g. : 'Śhivā' which should be pronounced almost as if written 'Śhive'. (The final short 'a' is, in classical Sanskrit, practically mute.)

3. विष्णुर्विश्वमात्मानम् (Mahābhārata, Udyoga parvā 70. 13)

"That which goes everywhere, [pervades all], is Viṣṇu."

The method of transliteration adopted in the present article has been devised by Mr. Danielou. It is not being followed in the other articles published in the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art.

The pronunciation indicated here of the final short 'a' agrees with current practice in Benares. [Ed.]

an expanding tendency (rajas) whose nature is motion, and a descending tendency (tamas) whose nature is obstruction (or obscuration). According to the relative predominance of these three fundamental tendencies or qualities (guṇās), the Principle, the Brahman, when qualified by the expanding tendency from which arises creative energy, becomes the Creator, Brahmā ; when qualified by the descending tendency from which arises destructive energy, becomes the Destroyer, the Lord of Tears, Rudrā¹ (Śhivā) ; and, when qualified by the ascending tendency, from which arises sustaining energy, becomes the Sustainer, the Pervader, Viṣṇu.

Rudrā, Lord of Tears, as the personification of the totality of causal-manifestation (समष्टि कारण प्रपञ्चमिमानी) is called the 'Non-Evolved' (Avyākṛitā) ; Viṣṇu the Pervader, as the personification of the totality of subtle-manifestation, is called the 'Embryo-of-Splendour' (Hiraṇyagarbhā) ; while Brahmā the Creator, as the personification of the totality of gross-manifestation, is called the 'Glorious' (Virāt).

It is the Regent, the Ruler-within (अन्तर्यामी) of the Unmanifest who is called Rudrā, Viṣṇu or Brahmā. But, wherever for some particular worship, [Rudrā, Viṣṇu or] Brahmā are spoken of as if they were living entities (jīvā), we have to understand that this cannot refer to the Ruler-within as such but only to His personification (ममिमानी).

Such Revealed Utterances as स एकाकी न रेमे "He being alone could not enjoy", or सोऽविमेत् "He feared", where we hear of fear or enjoyment as taking place within the 'Embryo-of-Splendour', imply, of necessity, the idea of a living entity personifying the 'Embryo-of-Splendour' ; the existence in the Supreme Self of fear or enjoyment being ever an impossibility. Yet, although the personification may be a living entity, the Ruler-within is ever Supreme Divinity (Paramēśhvarā).

In the Ancient Scripture, the Purāṇās, we read of numberless Universes ; this implies that, since there must be for each Universe an entity representing the aggregate of gross forms, and an entity representing the

1. संहार काले ब्रह्मा संहारं रोदतीति रुद्रः (Viṣṇu Sahasrā Nāmā, 26).

"At the time of destruction, He destroys the living beings and makes them cry ; hence He is Rudrā, Lord-of-Tears."

aggregate of subtle states, there must exist numberless 'Glorious' (Virāt) and numberless 'Embryo-of-Splendour' (Hirāṇyagarbhā). It is therefore evident that, regarded as Creator, Sustainer and Destroyer, the Brahmās, Viṣṇus and Śhivās are countless ; but, as the Ruler-within, the Supreme Divinity is all.

From this point of view the 'Glorious' (Virāt) of the metaphysical 'Nearest Approach', the Upanishads, is seen to correspond with the 'Arch-Glorious' (Mahā-Virāt) of the Ancient Scripture, the Purāṇās. It is the Ruler-within, alone personified in the whole gross-manifestation of the countless thousands of Universes, who is that 'Glorious' spoken of in the Upanishads. And the same can be said of the 'Embryo-of-Splendour' and the 'Non-Evolved'.

Hence, of the total spatial Universe (viśhvā)¹, made of numberless thousands of egg-shaped worlds (Brahmanḍā), the Creator, Brahmā, the Sustainer, Viṣṇu, and the Destroyer, Rudrā, are but one, sometimes called the Arch-Creator (Mahā-Brahmā), sometimes the Arch-Pervader (Mahā-Viṣṇu) and sometimes the Arch-Lord-of-Tears (Mahā-Rudrā). Just as but one farmer sows, cares for and cuts his corn, so also the Creator, Sustainer and Destroyer of the spatial Universe is one. Were it otherwise, who could destroy a world protected by the all-powerful Supreme Self, the Pervader, Viṣṇu ? And were the All-Destroyer, the Lord-of-Tears, Rudrā, to be accepted as supreme, who could protect a world bound for destruction ? Were Viṣṇu distinct from Rudrā, the time would come when Viṣṇu would be destroyed by Rudrā. But no destroyer can destroy his own inner self, and thus the Pervader, because He is the very Self of the All-Destroyer, can never be destroyed. To admit

1. The Universe, according to the aspect envisaged, is spoken of under different names.

1. Viśhvā—'that in which one enters'—refers to the space-aspect. We translate it as 'the spatial Universe.'

2. Jagat—'that which moves'—refers to the motion-aspect. We translate it as 'the moving Universe.'

3. Sansārā—'that which changes'—refers to the time-aspect. We translate it as 'the transient Universe'.

4. Prapañchā—'that which expands'—refers to the manifestation-aspect. We translate it as 'the manifest Universe.'

Each universe, as a unit, is spoken of as a 'Principal egg' (Brahmanḍā). We are translating it 'egg-shaped universe'.

of several Supreme Divinities is against logic because, if ever two of them were to disagree or have distinct wills, both could not be supreme ; or, were their two opposing wills equal neither could produce any effect, and neither could be supreme ; alone can be Supreme Divinity whose will predominates. Therefore, the Creator, the Sustainer and the Destroyer of the world are, of necessity, but one Supreme Being, whatever the names given to Him. The Eternal Wisdom, the Vedā,—of itself its own proof—calls Him the Cause of the Universe, the All-Knowing, the All-Powerful. Sometimes spoken of as 'the Pervader', sometimes as the 'Lord-of-Tears', sometimes as the Creator, this Supreme Divinity is even called 'Ether' (ākāśhā), or any other term that may be used to represent the causal principle of the Universe.

THE TRIPLE UNITY

The Arch-Energy which dwells in the Principle, the Brahman, and causes the rise, continuance and dissolution of the numberless millions of Universes, is the centre [from which spread] all the inconceivable, innumerable energies by means of which countless Universes take form. Amongst the energies of each Universe, those energies in which the descending tendency (tamas) predominates are the origin of the world of physical forms (भौतिक प्रपञ्च). In these aspects of existence ruled by the descending tendency, some elements of the ascending (sattvā) and of the expanding (rajas) tendencies are, however, also found. From this ascending element are formed the inner-faculties(अन्तःकरण) ¹ and the senses ² of

1. The inner faculties are four :

- (a) Mind (manas) the nature of which is deliberation.
- (b) Intellect (buddhi) the nature of which is to choose or decide.
- (c) The Mental substance (chittā), upon which is imprinted memory.
- (d) I-ness, or I-conceit (ahamkāra).

2. There are five senses of perception and five senses of action corresponding to the five elements (ether, air, fire, water and earth).

The senses of perception have for their organs :

श्रोत्रं त्वक्, चक्षुषी जिह्वा नासिका चैव पंचश्रो ।

"ear, skin, eyes, tongue and the fifth, the nostril."

While the corresponding senses of action (order inverted) have for organs :

पादुपस्थं वक्षपादं वाक्चैव दशश्रो स्वरा ।

"anus, sex, feet, hands and speech, known from the scripture as the tenth."

perception (ज्ञानेन्द्रिय) ; from the expanding element arise life-breath (prāṇa) and the senses of action (कर्मेन्द्रिय) ; from the descending element, physical bodies (स्थूल भूत) are formed. Hence, from the mainly descending aspect of Universal Energy (ब्रह्मावस्थ शक्ति) the perceptible world springs forth.

Similarly, in each Universe, there are energies in which the ascending tendency predominates,—though with traces of expanding and descending tendencies. From both these traces springs Ignorance (avidyā) ; while, from the traces of expanding tendency only, springs Sapience (vidyā)¹, that is Illusion (māyā). The mixing of the ascending tendency with the other tendencies being of endless diversity, the aspects of Ignorance are numberless ; and so, too, the living beings who are forms of the [Universal] Conscious reflected within Ignorance. Those who would like to consider Ignorance as of one kind only, would also have to accept that there is only one kind of living-being.

Viṣṇu, the Pervader, is manifested from the ascending element of the predominantly ascending Sapience ; Brahmā, the Creator, from its expanding element, and Rudrā, the Lord-of-Tears, from its descending element. The divisions of the subsidiary energies are necessarily implied in the Arch-Energy, hence from the mainly descending aspect of the Arch-Energy is manifested the insentient world (जड वर्ग) ; from the impure ascending aspect, the sentient world (मोक्ष वर्ग) and from the almost pure ascending aspect Arch-Divinity.

The Principle (Brahman) qualified by Arch-Energy, is but one ; therefore, the sentient world, the insentient world and Arch-Divinity must be understood as forms of the manifestation of one Principle.

Multiplicity may exist in the enjoyed insentient world, or the enjoying sentient world, but never in Arch-Divinity.

The cause of rise-continuance-dissolution is one, but, envisaged separately, the causes of rise, continuance and dissolution are spoken of as Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudrā.

Immanent causation exists in Consciousness particularized by that Energy in which the descending tendency predominates, and efficient

1. Vidyā, Sapience, is defined as : संस्कारवच्छिन्न ज्ञान "knowledge circumscribed by mental imprint",
while Veda, 'Eternal Wisdom', is ब्रह्मावस्थच्छिन्न ज्ञान "knowledge circumscribed by Word" ;
and the Brahman, the Principle, is विषयवच्छिन्न ज्ञान "knowledge circumscribed by its object".

causation in Consciousness particularized by Sapience-Energy in which the ascending tendency predominates ; yet, the one Principle, the Brahman, without plurality (नानात्व) particularized by Root-Nature (मूल प्रकृति) becomes simultaneously both the immanent and the efficient cause of the moving universe.

There is, of necessity, in the immanent cause, a likeness to its effect ; hence, because of this conformity to the inanimate world, immanence necessarily exists in Consciousness particularized by that Energy in which the descending tendency predominates. In the efficient cause a particularisation arises due to the repercussion of the effect upon that cause ; hence a maker of pots takes his name from his work.

Amongst all, he is the most powerful who can destroy all ; he alone can protect ; it is he, too, who is the creator. This all-powerful Lord, who rules over the endless Universe, is hymned as the Pervader, Viṣṇu in the Viṣṇu Purāṇā and the Padmā Purāṇā, etc., as Rāmā, Kṛiṣṇā, etc., in the Rāmāyaṇā, and Mahābhārata, etc., as 'the Lord of Sleep' (Śhivā) or the 'Lord of Tears' (Rudrā) in the Śhivā Purāṇā and Skandā Purāṇā.

In those Ancient-Scriptures (Purāṇās) which glorify Śhivā, it often seems as if Viṣṇu were minimised, but this is because the Viṣṇu there envisaged is but an 'acting (कार्य) Viṣṇu,' that is, the Viṣṇu of but one of the countless universes. Similarly, in the Ancient-Scriptures, where the Pervader, Viṣṇu, is glorified, the Lord of Sleep, Śhivā, is only considered in an acting (कार्य) or local aspect (अन्तःपाती).

There is nothing contradictory in conceiving the extent of the power of the Ruler of but one universe as the lesser when compared with the power of the Ruler of countless universes. Thus, under many shapes and names is this Supreme Principle, Supreme Self, the Ruler of the numberless universes sung in the Scripture of Eternal Wisdom (Vedā), in the Epics (Rāmāyaṇā, Mahābhārata), and in the Ancient Scriptures (Purāṇās), etc.. This all powerful Lord, ever glorified, is the Pervader Viṣṇu.

1. The Word 'Śhivā' comes from the root शी — 'to sleep'.

येति शिवम् सर्वमिति शिवः ।

"All go to sleep in Him, hence He is Śhivā." (Siddhānta Kaumodī)

THE DIVINE ICON

He in whom is found all power, all righteousness, all riches, all glory, all knowledge, all detachment, is called the All-Powerful (Bhagavān). He alone understands the rise and dissolution, the going (गति) and coming (आगति), the knowledge and ignorance of living beings.¹ The work of the protector of the world is to make it everywhere flower and bear fruit and fill it with all splendours. To sustain the universe, supreme might (ऐश्वर्य) is necessary. Hence, in the all-powerful Pervader, Viṣṇu, absolute might exists.

The Arch-Pervader, for purposes of worship, is conceived of with forms and limbs; wherefore we hear of his feet, of his vehicle 'Wings of Speech', (Garuḍa)²; his discus 'Beauteous Sight' (Sudarśhanā), his jewel 'Treasure of the Ocean' (Kaustubhā).³

Within the 'Aggregate of sensible forms' (the Arch-Glorious, Mahā-Virāt) are included sixteen 'evolved aspects' (विकार): Illusion (Māyā), Linking-Self (Sutrātman), 'First Principle of Existence' (Mahat-Intellect-totality), 'Principle of Individual Existence' (Ahaṁkāra), the five 'Spheres

ऐश्वर्यं सत्त्वस्य धर्मस्य ब्रह्मसत्त्वः ।
 ज्ञानवैराग्ययोगैश्च ब्रह्मा भवतीति ॥
 ब्रह्मणि सत्त्वो भूतानि भूतानामास्तितामनि ।
 स च भूतित्वमेवेव ब्रह्मास्तितामन्यस्य ॥
 एवमेव सत्त्वान्धो नैवेव भवतीति ।
 परब्रह्मभूतस्य ब्रह्मदेवस्य नाम्नः ॥

(Viṣṇu Purāṇa VI. 5.74-76.)

The six powers: absolute might (aiśhvāryā), righteousness (dharma), glory (yabā), fortune (śrī), knowledge (gñānā) and non-attachment (vairāgyā), are called 'Bhagā'. All beings dwell in 'the Self of all that exists', and he himself in all beings; this Changeless One is represented by the syllable 'va'.

O Maitreya! thus does this Great word 'Bhaga-vān' truly represent the In-dwelling Divinity, Śhrī Vāsudevā (Viṣṇu) and none other."

Also: उपपत्तिं प्रलयं चैव भूतानामावृतिं ब्रह्म ।

वेति विद्यामयिनां च स वाच्यो भगवानिति ॥ (id., VI. 5. 78)

"He who knows the rise and dissolution, the coming and going, the sapience and ignorance of all beings should be called 'Bhagavān'."

1. The word Garuḍa comes from the root:

गु—उडच् + ली = speech + to fly (see Upādisūtrā 4.166).

2. कुस्तुभी जलनिष्पन्नः भवः कव

That which is born from the ocean (kaustubhā—that which surrounds the earth) is Kaustubhā."

of Perception' (Tanmātrās), the eleven senses, and the five 'Primal Elements' (Mahā-bhūtās).

Within this Conscious shape of the All-Powerful, the Universal-Man (Puruṣhā), the three worlds appear: the earthly-world (Bhū Lokā) supporting all, is called his feet; because highest, the sky-world (Dyau lokā) is his head; the intermediary-world, because of its depth, is his navel. The Sun, the giver of vision is his eye, air his nostril, the directions his ears. The Lord of Life (Prajāpati) is his organ of generation, and the Lord of Death (Yamā) his brow, destruction his anus. The world's Guardians (Lokā-pālā, the Regents of the eight directions) are his arms, the moon his mind. Shame (लज्जा) is his upper lip, because it looks downward like a man ashamed; and greed is his lower lip; moonlight is his teeth, Illusion his smile, all that grows upon the earth his bodily hairs; the clouds the hairs of his head.

सप्तवितस्तिफायः "his body is of seven spans".¹

The shape of 'the Arch-Glorious' which forms [the body of the Universe] is worshipped because it springs from Supreme Divinity; hence, in both the Puruṣhā Sūktā and the Ancient Scripture, the Purāṇās, all his limbs and parts are spoken of as if they were the limbs of the all-powerful Pervader, Viṣṇu himself. Although he is indivisible, this all-powerful Pervader, for the sake of his faithful ones, incarnates into visible bodies (विग्रह) the substance of which is Consciousness and Joy. These incarnations are the qualified shapes of the Lord, likened to the blue of the flax, to sombre fresh rain-clouds, to the glow of a dark lotus. These shapes are said to be sometimes bright like the throat of a peacock, sometimes dark as the ebon tree. Just as pure water exposed to cold becomes clear ice so the Principle of Consciousness and Bliss appears, qualified, under the shape of the Pervader Viṣṇu.

The shapeless, abysmal ether is said by those who know the secret nature of things (तत्त्वगहस्यम्) to be dark in colour; similarly, the formless, changeless, abysmal pervading principle Viṣṇu, is spoken of in the Scripture of 'Original Revelation' (Śhruti) as dark in colour.

But black is the colour of the Ruler of Darkness, the all-powerful

1. A man's length is equal to seven of his own spans (विगृहि) (the widest stretch from the tip of the thumb to that of the little finger).

Lord of Sleep, Śhivā, whose quality is the descending tendency, Obscuration. Ceaselessly meditating upon Śhivā, Viṣṇu becomes dark, whereas his natural fairness appears in Śhivā, the Propitious (Śhaṅkarā), who is constantly meditating upon Viṣṇu. Both are ever attracted by, and are the Selves of, the other.

The All-Powerful, to guide men, has to take a human shape ; to guide the different Ages, He also takes corresponding shapes. In the Lord, Himself formless, shapes appear by contact with attributes.

In the first, the [Golden Age or Age of Accomplishment] (Kṛtā yugā), the ascending tendency is predominant and the Lord appears white ; in the second, the [Age of Equilibrium] of the three [fundamental qualities] (Tretā yugā), a mixture of the ascending and expanding tendencies predominates and the Lord appears red ; in the third [or Age of Uncertainty] (Dvāparā yugā), the expanding tendency predominates and the Lord appears yellow, while in the fourth [the Age of Darkness or -strife] (Kali yugā), the descending tendency predominates and the Lord appears black.

शुद्धो रक्तस्तथा पीतः श्वानी कृष्णतां गतः

"White, then red, then yellow, He is now become black."

Upon his breast the Lord wears the divine attribute, the Jewel 'Treasure-of-the-Ocean', which represents all the supersensible brilliance that is the Conscious in living beings (जीव-चैतन्य). According to the 'End of Wisdom' (the Vedāntā), the collective Consciousness of living being shelters in the one, limitless Divinity, Hence the living being is truly the jewel of the Lord.

The devotee who has attained to the Lord is a marvellous ornament shining on His breast, and the envy of all. [In the Love play of Kṛṣṇā we hear that]

अहो सुमनसो मुक्ता वज्राण्यपि हरेरुदरः ।

न त्यजन्ति वयं तल का वा स्मरवशाः स्तियः ॥

"When the flowers and pearls and precious stones (or, in other words, the angels, and those who have attained liberation, and those who have attained union with the changeless Principle) ever cling to the 'Remover of pain' once they have reached His breast, how could the cowherd women, possessed by Love, ever abandon Him !"

On the right breast of the Lord is a white lock of hair, curled to the right and looking like the fibre of a lotus stem ; it is called 'Darling-

of-Fortune' (śhri-vatsā). This lock of hair represents the light of the jewel 'Treasure-of-the-Ocean'. On His left breast is a lock of golden hair, leftwards coiled, the mark of the Divinity of Fortune, Lakṣhmī. Hence, the essence (सार) of that which enjoys and the essence of that which is enjoyed both shine gloriously in the shape of Fortune and the Darling-of-Fortune upon the breast of the All-powerful. The Arch-Energy which presides over all the Divine glory (ऐश्वर्य) is Lakṣhmī, who is Fortune. The essence of the individual Conscious (जीव चैतन्य सार) born from the mystery of Fortune made pregnant through the operation of the Supreme Self is the Darling-of-Fortune. Between Fortune and Darling-of-Fortune is the foot-print of Bhrigu¹ to show that both are obtained by honouring the priestly lotus feet.

Encircling the neck of the Lord is the Garland-of-the-Forest (वनमाला) which represents Illusion (māyā). The substance of Illusion is of many qualities (नानागुणमायी) although the three fundamental ones are its essence (त्रिगुणात्मिका). Composed of the holy basil (tulāsi) and jasmine, of the celestial dātūrā and parijātā² blossoms, and of the lake-born lotus³, the flowers of this Garland of marvellous fragrance and wonderful hues represent the enchantments of Nature (Prakṛiti) which arise from the three fundamental qualities.

The Yellow Veil (pīṭāmbārā) of the Lord represents the Vedic rhythms, or metres (chhandās). Just as, through the transparence of the Yellow Veil, shines the form of the Divine body, so, through the Vedic metres, shines Divine Reality. This Yellow Veil is also said to be the Enchanting Illusion (Mohani Māyā) whose shimmering folds cover the form of the Principle, the Brahman, just as the yellow veil protects the blessed limbs of the Lord. He alone who is not attracted or influenced by the glamour of Illusion can know the real shape of God ; only by going behind the brilliance of the veil can the divine shape be reached.

The sacred Thread worn by the Lord is formed by the triple lettered Syllable of Obeisance, AUM.¹

1. The sage Bhṛigu, trying to find out who was the greatest of the Gods, hit the sleeping Viṣṇu on the chest with his foot.

2. The parijātā is one of the five trees of Indra's paradise.

3. Baroruhā, 'that which arises from the lake'.

4. तस्यादीभिर्वि प्रचीति इति श्रुतिः । (Vishnu Sahasra Nāma)

'Eternal Wisdom' teaches : Thus one bows down, saying AUM !"

The sea-monster (makarā) shaped ear-rings are respectively the point of views of Cosmology (sāṅkhyā) and Re-integration (yogā).

The diadem (mukutā) of the Lord is the 'Supremely August stage' (पारमेष्ठ्य पद).

The serpent called 'the Limitless' (Anantā) which forms the throne of the Lord represents the 'Non-evolved' (avyākṛtā) and is the embodiment of the Total Conscious (chaitanyā), the Universal causal stage (समष्टि कारण देहाभिमानी). This serpent is also called 'the Remainder' (śheṣhā) because it alone remains when the manifestation is dissolved. That the pervading Lord should be seated on this limitless Remainder shows that beyond the 'Non-Evolved', beyond all cause and effect, is yet another fourth stage (turiyā).

The four hands of the Lord represent the four scriptures of Eternal Wisdom (the four Vedas), the four Ages, the four aims of life, and [all that is symbolized by] the square.

In one hand is held a lotus symbol of the ascending tendency from which springs Eternal Law (dharmā), Knowledge (gñānā), etc. In this ascending tendency, substance of Eternal Law, just as in the lotus flower, is beauty, softness, savour and fragrance.

In an other hand, the Lord holds the mace (gadā) which represents the 'principle of Vital Energy' (prāṇā tattvā) upon which depends virility, force, etc.

In his two other hands, the Lord holds the conch (शङ्ख) and the discus 'Beauteous Sight' (Sudarśhanā), representing respectively the Watery (jalā tattvā) and the Fiery (tejas tattvā) principles.

His sword, shield and bow (śhārṅgā) represent Ether, Darkness and Time, his quiver (Niṣhaṅgā) actions, while the arrows which stand in His quiver are the senses.

1. It is also said that :

पाञ्चजन्याख्यं भृतावाहकारात्मकं त्रैलोक्यं विषयम् ।

"He holds the conch named 'Born of Five' (पाञ्चजन्य) which is the [tamas, gross, descending] part of I-ness, the origin of physical existence."

Hence, the conch is said to correspond to water, the first compact element.

Further,

इन्द्रियावाहकारात्मकं बाह्यं नाम धनुस्त्वयि ।

"He has a bow called 'Śhārṅgā', which represents the rajas, subtle, expanding part of I-ness, origin of sensorial perception."

Hence the bow is said to represent the fiery principle, i. e. Supersensible radiance.

His chariot is the mind with its power of action (क्रिया शक्ति); it manifests the five spheres of perception (tanmātrās), speech, etc., origin of the senses. The All-Powerful, riding on the mind in which the power of action dwells, fits the senses to the bow of Time and takes aim at their objects. His hands, granting boons and dispelling fears, show the ways of achieving the aims of existence.

The lotus held for play in the divine hand of the All-Powerful (Bhagavān), is sometimes taken to represent the six supernatural powers known as 'bhagā'. In this case the symbolism of the previously mentioned lotus is represented by the lotus supporting the throne.

The whisk (chāmarā) and the fan, waving above the Lord, are Righteousness (dharmā) and Sacrifice (yagnā).

The parasol is the Land of No-Hindrance (vaikunṭhā)¹, the heaven of Viṣṇu, the Land-where-is-no-fear (अकृतो भय).

As the embodiment of the ritual sacrifice, the Lord has for His vehicle the bird 'Wings-of-Speech' (Garudā), made of the three main aspects of Eternal Wisdom, (the three Vedās :) Rythm (Rik), Sound (Sāmā) and Substance (Yajuh), which are the instruments of the ritual sacrifice. The Pervader, Viṣṇu, moves enthroned upon it.

The chief of the attendants 'All Conqueror' (Viśhvak-senā) represents the Terrestrial Scripture (āgamā)², which defines the technique of divine worship, as for example the [ritual of the] 'Five Nights' (Pañchā-rātri). The eight superhuman powers (Vibhūti)³, are the other attendants of the Lord, called Happiness, Delight, etc.

1. विगता कुण्डा यस्य स विकुण्डो विकुण्ड एव विकुण्डः 'सार्वभौम' ।

"To know no hindrance (kuṇṭhā) to one's motion is to be un-hindered (vikunṭhā). That which is unhindered is the 'Un-Hindered' (vaikunṭhā).

2. "Ā-gamā" (whereto it-has-come), represents the Scripture of Eternal Wisdom in its aspect as applied to the practical needs of earthly worship. It is therefore called 'Terrestrial Scripture', in opposition to the "Ni-gamā" (Whence-it-has-come) representing the Scripture of Eternal Wisdom in its universal aspect, i. e. the Vedā, or Solar Scripture.

3. There are eight superhuman powers or faculties called vibhūtis or siddhis. Generally considered as attributes of Śhivā, they are obtained at a certain stage of yogā.

They are :

अविमा लघिमा प्राप्तिः प्राक्काम्यं लघिमा तथा ।

ईशित्वं च वदित्वं च तथा कामावसायिता ॥

a. To become small as an atom (agiman)

b. To have no weight (Laghiman)

Vāsudevā (the In-dwelling Divinity) Saṅkārṣhaṇā (the Resorber), Pradyumnā (the All-Possessor), and Aniruddhā (the Unopposed)¹, are the four arrays, or arrangements of Viṣṇu corresponding respectively to [the Four stages of the macrocosm], 'the Glorious' [gross body of the Universe], the 'Embryo of Splendour' [subtle body of the Universe], the 'Non-Evolved' [causal body of the Universe], and the 'Fourth Stage' [Universal Principle beyond all cause and effect]. [In the microcosm] these four arrays or icons correspond to 'The Dwelling' (Viśhvā) [individual gross body], 'Supersensible Radiance' (taijas) [individual supersensible body], 'Awareness' (pragñā) [individual causal body], and the 'Fourth Stage' (Turiyā) [the Principle beyond cause and effect which is identical in both the Universal and Individual].

The all-powerful Lord, in his four arrays, is the cause of even 'Eternal Wisdom', the Vedā. He is self-seeing (स्वयं दृक्) and self-contained in his greatness (स्वमहिम पूर्ण). Although ultimately without any sort of differentiation, the All-Powerful, through His intrinsic Power (śhakti), Illusion, creates, sustains and dissolves the spatial Universe.

- a. To have the power of obtaining anything (prāpti)
- d. To have irresistible will (prākāmyā)
- e. To have the power to become immensely large (mahīman)
- f. To have the power of supremacy (īśhītvam or īśhītā)
- g. To have the power to bring under ones control or to fascinate anything or anyone (vaśīhṭvam)
- h. To have the power of unrestrained enjoyment (kāmaśāyitā)

1. सर्वाणि तान् भूतानि वसन्ति परमात्मनि ।

भूतेषु च स सर्वाणां वासुदेवस्ततः स्मृतः ॥

(Viṣṇu Purāṇa 6. 5. 80)

1. "In this supreme Self all existing things dwell, and this Universal Self in all things that exist ; hence, the Exposition of Eternal Wisdom, the Traditional Scripture, calls him Vāsudevā, In-Dwelling Divinity."

संहारसमये युगपद्वसन्ताः सङ्ख्यतेति सङ्ख्यन्तः ।

(Viṣṇu Sahasrā nāmā)

"At the time of dissolution he draws in all creatures, hence he is Saṅkarāṇā, "the Resorber."

प्रकृष्टं द्युक्तं द्रविष्यमस्येति प्रद्युम्नः चतुर्व्यूहात्मा वा ।

(Viṣṇu Sahasrā nāmā)

"Because his wealth is greatest, or because he is the soul of the four arrays, he is called "the All Possessor, Pradyumnā.

चतुर्व्यूहेषु चतुर्थो व्यूहः अनिरुद्धः, न विरुद्धते ग्रहभिः कदाचिदिति वा । (Viṣṇu Sahasrā nāmā)

"Of the four arrays he is the fourth ; no opponent ever opposes him, hence he is the Unopposed (Aniruddhā)".

THE MEANINGS OF THE WORD 'NĀRĀYAṆĀ'

The Arch-Pervader, Mahā-Viṣṇu, beyond Creative Illusion, beyond quality, is the Principial Essence (Brahmā-tattvā) without beginning, middle or end, limitless, unrivalled, indivisible, self-sufficient. He verily is 'the Principle in Whom dwells and who dwells in all existence' (Nārāyaṇā-tattva). The word Nārāyaṇā has several meanings.

1. Because he dwells in all humans as giver of existence (सत्ता) and vibration (स्फूर्ति) ¹ the Arch-Pervader is called Nārāyaṇā.

नराणां समूहो नारम् जीवसमूहः तत् अयनं यस्य ।

"the collection of men (nārā) is humanity (nāram), and He of whom the collection of human beings is the dwelling (ayanā) [is Nārāyaṇā].

2. नरात् जाताः नाराः आपः ('आपो वै नरसूनुवः' इति मन्त्रकैः) तत्त्वानि वा ('नराज्जातानि तत्त्वानि' इति मन्त्रवर्णात्) अयनं यस्य ।

"He whose dwelling is the Waters (āpaḥ) or the Principles of the elements (tattvās) [both] called 'Nārāḥ' because sprung from [the 'Embryo of Splendour' the Universal subtle body spoken of as] 'Nārā', [is Nārāyaṇā]. Manu (1, 10) says that "the waters are born of Nārā", while Vedic runes (mantrās) reveal that "the five Principles of the elements sprang from Nārā".

3. Because, as a witness, either he

नारं अयते जानाति वा, आययति प्रवर्तयति वा ।

"enters, knows 'all that exists' (Nārā), (animate or inanimate) or, he causes to move, impels," he is Nārāyaṇā (the In-Dweller).

4. Leaving the supreme Heaven, the Un-Hindered world, he comes down into the mortal world and is called 'He who has come into man' (Nārāyaṇā).

नराणां भक्तानां समूहो नारं, तत् प्रति अयते अनुग्रहार्थं गच्छति इति ।

"the assembly of men (Nārā), of his devotees, is Nārā, (humanity); he fares forth towards it and moves to fulfill its desires (अनुग्रहार्थं—अमीह पूर्त्यर्थं).

5. The living being,—the Conscious circumscribed by Ignorance,—is called Nārā (man). The animate or inanimate manifestation, which is the object of man's experience, conceived by him in the Principle, the limitless Conscious, is spoken of as the 'water' (अप्) and called 'Nārā' [the

1. Vibration, i. e. manifestation.

field of human experience]. Its dwelling, its support (adhiṣṭhānā, is called the 'Universal abode' (Nārāyaṇā).

Hence, because He gives existence (सत्ता) and vibration (स्फूर्ति) to the manifest world (प्रपञ्च) conceived within Himself by the living being, the Causal Principle (कारणोद्भूत तत्त्व) is called 'Universal Abode' (Nārāyaṇā).

(6) नारो जीवसमूहः तस्य गमनं प्रवृत्तिर्यन्मात् ।

"Nārā is the human herd, wherefore it has motion, direction, is 'the Way of Humanity' (Nārāyaṇā)".

THE FOUR-LEGGED PRINCIPLE

The non-dual Indwelling-Essence, (Nārāyaṇā-tattva) the nature of which is Being-Consciousness-Bliss, is supreme Joy, without second, eternal, pure, ancient, ever free, true, formless and beyond any of the means of proof. It is spoken of as the Four-Legged Principle, the Chatuṣhpāt Brahman.

The four legs are Ignorance, True Sapience (su-vidyā), Joy and the Fourth Stage. The last three of these legs are ever present, pervading all things, and some speak of them as the three-legged Principle, the Tri-Pādā-Brahman. (The last of these three) the Fourth Stage, although one of the four legs, is also beyond them (तुरीयातीत). This last aspect is however not envisaged here.

Ignorance (sthūlā avidyā), which corresponds to the Arch-Glorious, the body of the Universe, is the first leg of the All-Powerful ; subtle manifestation is the second leg. True Sapience ; the seed (bījā) [the causal stage whence the Unmanifest becomes manifest] is the third leg, Joy ; and the pure Principle supporting all is the fourth leg.

Although the first leg is said to be the first, this is not really so, since the three-legged Principle is ever undifferentiated, there is no possibility of a triple distinction within it. And even within the first leg, created from Ignorance, the four legs already exist.

Since Ignorance predominates in the first leg, this leg is said to be spotted with Ignorance (अविद्या शुक्ल). Although the all-supporting Conscious is basically everywhere present, it appears here as if eclipsed. In the

three other legs, the Conscious predominates and Ignorance is secondary. Because of the predominance of the Conscious-element, these higher legs are considered to be made of transcendent, supernatural joy, having for intrinsic form the scintillating mass of all that is fiery. They are beyond Word ineffable, with but one flavour, that of indivisible, absolute Bliss.

In the middle region of the middle leg, like a stream of boundless light, the Supreme Heaven, the Un-hindered World gloriously shines, resplendent with unsurpassed, undifferentiated joy, like an icon of Principal Bliss (Brahmānandā). In this supreme land of the Arch-Pervader, within the mass of the limitless, all-pervading, divine light of indivisible joy, shines, like the urn of ambrosia in the ocean of milk, a boundless sphere.

There in the midst of the divine glow gleams the Person (puruṣhā) of 'Beauteous-Sight' (सुदर्शन). Like the In-dweller of the Sun, Sūryā-Nārāyaṇā, who shines within the solar orb, the non-dual Initial In-Dweller, Ādi-Nārāyaṇā, can be seen, in the midst of the boundless mass of the light of supreme joy. This Initial In-Dweller is the Fourth Stage Principle (Turiyā Brahman) and He is even beyond the Fourth Stage. He is verily the Pervader, Viṣṇu, the Total Principle of all (समस्त ब्रह्म), the Meaning and the Word, the supreme Light, beyond Illusion, beyond quality, beyond time, beyond all action ; He is supreme Divinity without attributes, the supreme Person without beginning or end, eternal.

It is meaningless to picture an All-conqueror (Viśhvaksenā) or an Un-Hindered World in a stage beyond qualities. It must, therefore, be understood that all the above description can only refer to the qualified.

THE RAISING OF THE EYE-LID

At the raising and lowering of the eye-lid of the non-dual Initial In-Dweller Ignorance with its result, the whole manifest Universe, arises, endures and disappears. When the self-content All-Powerful at his own pleasure raises his eye-lid, then, within the potential stage, that is the universal causal stage, the Causal Root (मूलकारण), that is the Unmanifest (Avyaktā) springs forth. From this Unmanifest arises Creative Illusion and all that proceeds from it. Energy inwardly

directed is the Unmanifest, outwardly directed, it is Root-Ignorance. By contact with this Root-Ignorance, the Supreme Principle, (Para-Brahman) becomes, as if spotted throughout (शुक्ल) by Ignorance. From Ignorance is manifested the 'Great Principle' (Mahat, Universal Intellect), and from the 'Great Principle' springs I-hood (अहङ्कार); from I-hood spring the five 'Spheres of Perception' (tanmātrās), from the five Spheres of Perception the five primal elements (mahā bhūtās), and from the five primal elements, the Universe. And, within the Universe, gloriously residing, is the all-powerful In-Dweller, the Lord (Nārāyaṇā).

The Glorious, the Person (Puruṣhā) with a thousand heads and a thousand eyes, who personifies the physical Universe, is the [outward] form of this In-Dweller. In His transcendent aspect, the In-Dweller is without quality, yet, in contact with Illusion, He appears to have qualities (guṇās), i.e. appears in the form of supersensible Radiance (tejas), Energy of Knowledge, Might and Glory, whose shape is the multiform, mysterious, endless moving-Universe.

In each of His pores stand innumerable millions of egg-shaped Universes with their shells. In each one of these universes dwells an incarnation, an avatārā, of the In-Dweller, Nārāyaṇā, from whom are born all Celestial Beings (devās) and the world of sensible forms (वपञ्च).

The all-powerful Pervader, the Lord Viṣṇu, and His Heavenly Worlds, constitute that manifestation which is of Sapience, the play (विहारा) of Consciousness, and is eternal Joy. The substance of the rest of manifestation is Ignorance.

THE LOWERING OF THE EYE-LID

Each night and day of Brahmā the Creator, lasts four thousand Ages. Within one day of Brahmā, all the Worlds below the World-of-Truth (Satyā Lokā, the seventh Heaven) arise, and are dissolved. Fifteen of these days make a fortnight (पक्ष), two fortnights a month, two months a season, three seasons an equinoxial half-year, two half-years a year and a hundred years the length of the Creator's life. In the end, the Glorious Person, [the body of the Universe.] dissolves itself into the Embryo of Splendour [the totality of all supersensible states] which, in turn, is

merged into its cause, the Supreme Self. For a hundred years all remains dissolved. During that time, all the living individualities (jīvās) are asleep within Nature (Prakṛiti).

The whole duration between the appearance and disappearance of the Creator, Brahmā, is but one day and night of the Arch-Pervader, Mahā-Viṣṇu; these days and nights again form fortnights, months, seasons, half-years and years. For one thousand million years the Arch-Pervader remains, after which He dissolves Himself into the Initial-Glorious-Person, [totality of all Universes]; and the one Universe with its shell then disappears and remains dissolved for a billion years.

Again, the duration between the appearance and disappearance of the Arch-Pervader constitutes one day and night of the Initial-Glorious-Person, whose life, in terms of these new fortnights, etc., is a billion years. At the end of them, the Initial-Glorious resorbs Himself into the Initial-In-Dweller. The existence of the Initial-Glorious is one day and night of the Initial-In-Dweller who, in turn, remains for one billion years. At the end of His existence, at the pleasure of the Three-Legged, Almighty In-Dweller (Tripād-vibhūti-Nārāyaṇā [the ultimate Viṣṇu principle]), the eye-lid is lowered.

This is the end. The egg of Root-Ignorance with its shell dissolves. Then Root-Ignorance with all its display disappears into the Unmanifest (Avyaktā), which returns to the Principle, the Brahman; then the Initial In-Dweller comes back to His own intrinsic nature (svasvarūpā), which is 'Whole Consciousness' (cītmātrā). All living individualities (jīvās) are also resorbed into 'Whole Consciousness'.

Thus, like the crystal which appears red near the rose but colourless and pure away from it, the Principle, the Brahman, in contact with the attributes of Illusion, appears to have qualities and limitations; but when Illusion ceases to be, it is quality-less, limit-less.

The Three-Legged Ultimate Essence, beyond form and change, beyond all qualification, ever Is.

III

THE DIVINE JOURNEY

When the Initial-In-Dweller looks inwards, He contemplates His own inner form: it is the 'lowering of the eye-lid' (nimeṣhā); when the

Initial-In-Dweller looks outwards, He contemplates His own outer form ; it is the 'raising of the eye-lid' (unmeṣhā). The eye-lid raised, Ignorance arises ; the eye-lid lowered, all dissolves. From the resultant-attributes which are inner-faculties (अन्तःकरण), intellect, etc., the living individualities issue ; and from the causal-attribute, which is Illusion, issues Divinity (Īśhwarā).

Like frogs, that are destroyed in the hot weather but appear again when the rains come, Ignorance, dissolved when the eye-lid of Supreme Divinity is lowered, again arises. Because of the desire for evil action acquired, during innumerable worthless births, the living being, experiencing the dream-like, illusory enjoyment of material things, and living in the error (भ्रम) of "I am a living individuality" (jivā), 'I am a form of pain' (दुःखाकार), errs, in his greed for endless tempting things, insatiable. To him, the desirable appears undesirable, the undesirable desirable. Bound by the power of 'not-knowing' (agnānā), he has no thought for Liberation and feels no desire to experience unbounding principial happiness (Brahmā-sukhā).

It is only through the great influence of good done birth after birth, that the living being obtains the privilege of coming into contact with saints and of discerning right from wrong ; he feels a leaning towards right-behaviour, and, gradually, as the burden of sin decreases, his inner-faculties become purified.

Then, upon a merciful glance from the True-Guide (sat-guru), all obstacles disappear and Reality is perceived. An inclination to hear and ponder Divine tales arises, and, in the heart, the knots of evil desires are loosened. Then, in the centre of the heart's lotus, the Supreme Lord appears. From fervent devotion detachment arises, and by constant striving towards knowledge realisation matures. And, together with desire, all past actions are destroyed.

The In-Dweller appears shining in all things, and it seems as if, everywhere, nothing but He alone exists.

Further, when unwavering knowledge of the essence of things has been acquired, nothing remains but a non-particularized Knower (विद्वान्), identified with the Principle.

But, if knowledge is not unwavering and some desire to see other worlds lingers, at the moment of leaving the body, the attendants of the

Lord come to rescue the living being, who, contemplating with great love the inner Self established in the lotus of his heart, sheds the physical body, the greatest obstacle of the mind, and dives into the River of Immortality (amarā-nadī) which springs from the toe of the lotus foot of 'the Limitless' (Anantā-Viṣṇu).

The living being then takes the path ethereal, and, leaving on either hand the worlds of merits (पुण्य लोक), enters into the world of Truth (Satyā Lokā).

Having there worshipped Brahmā the Creator and been honoured by all the inmates, the Approacher enters the blessed World of Śhiva, Lord of Sleep.

Thence, crossing the sphere of the Great Seers (Mahā-Riṣhis) and piercing through the sphere of Moon and Sun, he has a vision of the axial point, the unmoving polar star.

He next enters the sphere of the porpoise¹ after which he again ascends and bathes in the River of Passionless-ness (विराजा); then he once more immerses himself, and, meditating upon the All-Powerful, abandons the subtle body, the causal instrument of the yet unseparated five elements. He now puts on the mental body of spell (मन्त्रमय विग्रह) which is 'likeness of form'² with the Pervader, and, having worshipped Him, enters into the 'Unhindered World of the Principial Substance' (ब्रह्ममय वैकुण्ठ). Bowing to its inhabitants, he sees before him the incomparable, flawless 'mountain of Principial Joy' (ब्रह्मानन्दाचल). This mountain glitters magnificently with its high peaks, its innumerable ramparts, palaces, arches, gardens and flying chariots (विमान). On the highest peak glows an intense light which is Sublime Joy. Within this joy sparkles the 'Joy of Pure Knowing' (śhuddā-bodhā-ānandā) within which, is an altar made of Consciousness, and, within, again, an altar made of Bliss adorned with a forest of joy; yet further, is that intense, boundless light in which stands the throne of Supreme Felicity (परम मङ्गलासन).

1. Śhīṣhumārā cakrā, the outermost shell of the porpoise-shaped physical Universe.

2. Likeness of form is the third stage of Re-integration (yogā). The first is 'sālokyā' 'to dwell in the same world'; the second is 'sāmiptyā' 'to be near'; the third is 'sārūpyā' 'to have the same shape'; and the fourth is 'sāyujyā' 'complete fusion'.

The Approacher then passes through five Unhindered Worlds and reaches the Beatitude of the Glorious (Virāṭ kaivalyā). Now, having pierced through the shell of the Egg-shaped Universe, he can see its shape and becomes in essence, through Principial Cognition (Brahmā gñānā), of the very nature of 'the Glorious' himself. He now perceives the World of Liberation (मोक्ष प्रपञ्च), the manifestation which is beyond the egg-shape. Like the egg of a wood-cock, this Universe's egg, sum of all that is superlative, most vast, shines like molten gold, brilliant as ten million suns. It is surrounded by the five primal elements (mahā-bhūtās) by I-hood, by Intellect-totality (mahat) and by Root-Nature (mūlā Prakṛiti). This egg-shaped Universe, two hundred thousand million leagues in all four directions, rests on the 'Arch-Frog' (mahā-maṇḍūkā)¹ and other boundless Energies, and is the play-ball of the All-powerful In-Dweller. Unseen, unheard, characterized by innumerable particularities, it rotates like an atom in the pores of the All-Powerful,

अस्य ब्रह्माण्डस्य समन्ततः स्थितान्येतादृशान्यनन्तकोटिब्रह्माण्डानि साधारणानि ज्वलन्ति ।

"On all sides of this egg-shaped Universe,
countless millions of similar Universes stand
glittering within their shells."

In all these Egg-shaped Universes dwell Pervaders, Arch-Divinities (Maheshvarā-Śhivā), etc., four-faced, six-faced, seven-faced, eight-faced, up to one thousand faced, all aspects of the In-Dweller, Nārāyaṇā. Just as in the waters of the great flood (mahā-jalā-anghā) wander innumerable fishes and bubbles so, too, these Egg-shaped Universes, countless in number, move within the Arch-Pervader. In each of His pores these Universes glitter, like the buckets of a turning water-wheel.

The Approacher now knows all the inward and outward mysteries of the Universes, understands all their strange, attributes, and, passing through all the groups of Universes, crossing the shoreless ocean of abysmal darkness, he comes within sight of the Citadel of Ignorance. There he obtains the vision of Ignorance-Fortune clad in all the delights of Arch-Illusion, adorned with all the magic of boundless, divine, splendours which are the forms of the total Energies of Arch-Illusion. She, the

1. The Universe rests upon the serpent 'Remainder' (Śheṣhā nāgā) which itself stands upon a boat (varāhā), which in turn stands upon the Divine Energy called Arch-Frog (mahā-maṇḍūkā).

'Arch-Illusion of the Pervader' (Vaiṣṇavi Mahā Māyā), is the genitrix of the totality of all Universes. Having worshipped her, the Seeker (Sādhakā), by her grace, ascends and attains to the state of 'the Arch-Glorious', the Mahā Virāt (totality of all Universes).

The Arch-Glorious is described in many a rune :

विश्वतश्चक्षुः कृत विश्वतो मुखो विश्वतो बाहुकृत विश्वतस्पात् ।

सम्बाहुभ्यां धमति सम्पतत्त्रैधावाभूमौ जनयन् देव एकः ॥

"He has, verily, eyes on all sides, mouths on all sides, arms on all sides and feet on all sides. He, the Progenitor, the only Lord, upholds with his arms the falling Heaven and Earth."

The Approacher now sees, in her Divine City, the Arch-Integrand-Illusion (Mahā-yogā-Māyā), comparable only to the Ocean of Marvels (आश्चर्य्यसागर), adorned with all the deceptive magic which hides the intrinsic form of the Absolute, the Supreme-Principle. Above shines the Un-Hindered City of limitless magnificence, where dwell the eternally Liberated (nityā muktā).

Within is a divine throne of Consciousness ; there, in the heart of a lotus, shines a divine light of incomparable intensity wherein dwells the All-Powerful, the Initial In-Dweller, the Lord Ādi-Nārāyaṇā.¹ Having contemplated and worshipped Him, the Seeker breaks through the shell of the Egg of Ignorance and, passing beyond Ignorance, reaches the confluence of Knowing and Unknowing and sees the Un-Hindered City of the All-Conqueror.

Radiant splendour envelops the City which is filled with the arrays of the endless joy of Knowing (बोधानन्द व्यूह). Numberless mountains of Joy adorn it. Amongst them is the mountain of Felicity (कल्याणाचल) and, on it, the flying chariot of pure Joy. In the chariot stands another auspicious, divine throne, within which, also on the heart of a lotus, is the Protector of all Realization (अपवर्ग), the All-Conqueror of undaunted valour, who is the intrinsic nature of the Arch-Pervader. Having adored Him, the Seeker, crossing the boundless oceans of Sapience, reaches the waters of

1. The nature of the Supersensible or subtle world, corresponding to the state of dream, is fiery visibility being its specific quality : hence, the Realization of Viṣṇu,—who, from the cosmological point of view, corresponds to the 'Embryo of splendour' (Hiranyagarbha), the aggregate of all supersensible states,— is always spoken of in terms of light.

Principal Sapience, the Brahmā-vidyā ; he bathes therein and, the mind steady in its contemplation of the All-Powerful, he again plunges into the current. He, then, abandons the mental body of spell (mantrā-mayā-śharirā) and entering an immortal spiritual-body made of the Joy of Sapience, he attains 'likeness of form' with the In-Dweller, Nārāyaṇā. The Approacher now can see the Un-Hindered World of Principal Sapience, and is welcomed by all its for-ever liberated inhabitants. There, from the midst of never ending Principal Forests (Brahmā-vanā) of consciousness, of which fragrance is the nature (गन्धस्वभाव), innumerable mountains of pleasure (कोटि) rise, beautiful with rivers of knowledge in which flows the sap of Joy. Inside the City, before the vast and towering Palace 'Joy of Knowing' (Bodhā-ānandā), stands the flying chariot which is the syllable of Obeisance AUM. Enthroned upon it is the ruling deity (adhi-devatā) of this Treasure Empire of Principal Sapience, the Infinite Fortune, Lakṣmī, who, with her never-failing glance, dissolves beginningless root-Ignorance. The Approacher, worshipping her with many different rites (उपचार), proceeds ever upwards through the waves of Principal Sapience from shore to shore ; crossing all the Oceans of unlimited Joy and ranges of supreme Felicity (परम मङ्गलाचल), and approaching the Principal Forests, he attains to the flying chariot of the Joy of Knowing. He now has sight of the heavenly Un-Hindered City of the sacred Basil (Tulāsi) which stands on the mountain of Unlimited Knowing (अमित बोध), surrounded by the blessed waves of the Ocean of Joy of Knowing which is Bliss unsurpassed. In the City, he sees the presiding deity, the sacred Tulāsi. This sacred Tulāsi is the incomparable beauty and charm which muses in all the limbs of the Lord Pervader. Thus, having crossed, from coast to coast, the ocean of supreme Joy, and seen the innumerable Worlds of the Joy of Knowing, the Approacher, welcomed by a hail of flowers, the Joy of Divine Fragrance, sees the Principal Forest above which towers the mountain of Divine Felicity.

IV

THE SUPREME STAGE

The Principal Forest is thronged with flying chariots and unending forms of impenetrable radiance, oceans of nectar of unsurpassed Joy.

Gradually reaching the confluence of Knowledge and Joy, and breast-

ing the flood of the never-ceasing waves, the Approacher enters the Forest. Flowers of Immortality ever rain down upon it, rivers of Bliss spread everywhere, and mountains of the Joy of Pleasure (Kriḍā-ānandā) add gloriously to its beauty. In the midst of this forest is the Un-Hindered dwelling of the Joy of Knowing, around it are the resplendent ramparts of the Thousand Joys. There are the gorgeous palaces of Knowing, picturesque with their countless halls of pleasure (क्रीड़ा), beautified with parasols, whisks, pennants, canopies (वितान) and arches. Having entered this Un-Hindered World, the Approacher sees, shining on the top of the mountain of Supreme Joy, the chariot of integral Knowledge. In it is a throne of Consciousness, and upon the throne the fiery sphere of integral Joy. Within the sphere is the Initial In-Dweller, and the Approacher, having done worship to Him and made an offering of a handful of flowers, is stabilised in his intrinsic nature (स्वरूपावस्थित).

The All-Powerful then makes him sit on the throne, and, with the help of the inhabitants of this Un-Hindered World, proceeds to consecrate him as the ruler of the whole empire of the Liberated. Celestial and blessed arch-instruments now play before him; the All-Powerful then anoints him from the urns of Joy, bows before him, and, presenting him with different offerings, gives him His own insignia, saying: "Thou art the Principle, I am the Principle, between us is no difference, thou I am, I thou art." Having thus spoken, the Initial In-Dweller disappears.

The Approacher has now attained the majesty (विभूति) of Principial Joy and sees, everywhere established, countless Un-Hindered Worlds of Joy; riding on immortal 'Wings of Speech', protected by 'Beauteous Sight' and the All-Conqueror, he sees the countless flowers of Self-delight (आत्माराम). He crosses again innumerable oceans of Joy in which bathe vibrant forests and peaks of divine radiance; and he experiences the multi-form, sublime totality of the majesty of Supreme Existence (परमसत्त्व विभूति).

THE VISION OF BEAUTEOUS SIGHT

Now comes the vision of the City of Beauteous-Sight. Thousands of ever auspicious 'ramparts of Joy' towering proudly surround the city and within are thousands of vaults (कुक्षि) and immense shining domes (अमण्डल).

In the centre of the City is the Arch-Wheel, the great discus Beauteous-Sight. Sum of unlimited divine weapons which are the divine powers, and embodiment (विग्रह) of the impulse (प्रवह) of the Arch-Pervader whom nothing can hinder, ornamented by innumerable tongues of fire the great Wheel of the Arch-Discus, cause of all divine Felicity, shines forth. In its centre glows a massive orb of intense divine light. In its middle is the wheel of a thousand spokes which has the shape of a sphere of indivisible divine radiance and dazzles like the concentrated lightning of Supreme Joy. Within again is the wheel of six hundred spokes; the impenetrable, massive, form of Transcendental Knowledge (vigñānā), it is the special seat of the display of boundless Supreme Radiance. Within this wheel of six hundred spokes is the wheel of the three hundred spokes, sum of the innumerable Suns of Consciousness, it represents the volupty of Supreme Felicity. Again, one within the other, are the wheels of one hundred spokes, of sixty spokes, and, within these, a hexagonal wheel appearing as an unbounded mass of divine radiance. Within it, again, is the stage of Arch-Joy, in the heart of which is the sphere of Consciousness of Sun, Moon and Fire. Here, blazing forth like millions of newly arisen suns, dwells the Person of Beauteous-Sight (Sudarśhanā Puruṣhā), the true Arch-Pervader. He who by means of the Arch-Utterances (Mahāvākya) such as "That thou art" (तत्त्वमसि) ¹ is perceived indeed to be one's own Self, is called 'Beauteous-Sight'.

Because the Fourth-Stage-Principle (turiyā Brahman) has the power of cutting off heads of demons (asurās), that is, of Ignorance, it is represented by the Arch-discus 'Beauteous-Sight.' It can also be said that the hermetic Utterance of the Arch-Indweller (Mahā-Nārāyaṇā mantrā) which is the means of attaining to the Fourth Stage is symbolised by 'Beauteous-Sight'. In the following hermetic Utterance he is described as :

1. In the hierarchy of manifestation, immediately after the Principial Word, which is the syllable AUM, are manifested the arch-utterances which represent the essence of Eternal Wisdom (Vedā). These arch-utterances are sometimes said to be four, sometimes ten in number, two of them are :

तत्त्वमसि । : "That thou art."

and सत्सर्वविद् ब्रह्म । : "The Principle, the Brahman, is all 'this' [the Universe.]"

चरणं पवित्रं विततं पुराणं येन पूतस्तरति दुष्कृतानि ।
 तेन पवित्रेण शुद्धेन पूता अतिपाप्मानमराति' तरेम ॥
 लोकस्य द्वारमर्चिमत् पवित्रं ज्योतिष्मद्भाजमानं महस्वत् ।
 अमृतस्य धारा बहुधा दोहमानं चरणं नो लोके सुधितां दधातु ॥

"the impeller, pure, vast, ancient, through whom evil actions can be overcome. Being purified by Him, the pure and clean, we can pass beyond the enemy, extreme sinfulness. He is the world's doorway, flaming, pure, luminous, resplendent, mighty. May this impeller suckling us with the many streams of ambrosia, give us wisdom in this world."

He is the basis from which can be refuted ignorance, knowledge and joy when they are impure and limited ; hence, He is pure (पवित्र) and vast (वितत) ; being everlasting, he is called 'the Ancient' (पुराण). When purified by Him, the living being can pass beyond all evil action. May we, too, be purified by this pure, clean knowledge and by Transcendent Knowledge (ज्ञान-विज्ञान) and pass beyond the enemy (अराति) who is the greatest of sins, Ignorance and its result the illusion of existence (अस्तित्व स्रम). It is this cognition of the Fourth-Stage which is the gateway of the world of one's own Self (स्वात्मलोक).

Inwardly flaming (अर्चिमत्), Beauteous-Sight is pure ; outwardly resplendent (ज्योतिष्मत्), it is luminous (भाजमान). In its Principial aspect, ever identical to its inner form, it is mighty (महस्वत्). May this Fourth-Stage, brimming us with the streams of Principial Joy, make us freed in life.

THE THRONE OF THE NON-DUAL

The Approacher, having worshipped the Arch-Person Beauteous Sight and passing through the strange and marvellous splendours of the Volupty of Consciousness (chit-vilāsā) crosses the endless deeps of unsurpassed joy, and gradually approaches the throne of the Non-Dual.

This throne of the Non-Dual is void of all particularities pertaining to difference of kind, but has for attributes only such particularities as are inherent in singleness of kind. Here are no parts, no relativity, no change, but only the cloud totality of unlimited, undisguised (निर्वज्जन) Principial

Joy. Total form of the Volupty of Supreme Consciousness, infinitely pure, each of its particles glitters like millions of suns. The main purpose of the many teachings of 'Nearest Approach' (the Upaniṣhads), is to describe this throne. It exists beyond all proof, beyond perception of mind and words, subtler than the subtle, greater than the great. It is indefinable, unchanging, permanent. It exists everywhere, within and without, all-pervasive. The mountain 'Consciousness of limitless Joy' rises even within it; upon it stands resplendent the ever-living, auspicious temple of indivisible Supreme Bliss. It is as if the substance of Consciousness had been churned and this throne were its extracted essence (चिह्नसार), a sea of endless wonder graced by currents of joy of an incomparable, ever-lasting, blemishless, timeless, unsurpassed, sublime brilliance. This mountain is covered with thousands of beautiful objects, adorned with palaces of pure knowing, with myriads of divine gardens upon which falls an unceasing rain of flowers. Here is the Un-Hindered abode of Supreme Beatitude (kaivalyā) of the Three-Legged Majesty; here dwells unobstructed the supreme Essence which is impenetrable-Being, impenetrable-Consciousness, impenetrable-Joy; here dwells the spiritual (अधिदैवत) form of the Principial Conscious (Brahmā-chaitanyā); and here is the sphere of pleasure in which resides the non-dual Principle, the Parā-Brahman. This abode is the supreme icon, the total sphere of the boundless Volupty of Knowing. This peak of unlimited Knowing has for base the mountains of boundless joy, which themselves rest on mystic diagrams (yantrā) such as the 'Splendid Haired One' (Keśhāvā)¹.

There, covering untold millions of leagues, stands a towering castle built of Consciousness. In its centre lies the ocean of wonder, surrounded by a magic world of gardens which stand for the meaning of the numberless teachings of 'Nearest Approach'; it resounds with the songs of swans, the songs (Sāmās) of 'Eternal Wisdom'. Inside the Castle, more brilliant than the glare of countless millions of suns, stands the flying chariot of

1. These 'splendid hairs' (केस) are explained as:

च'क्षुषी ते प्रकाशन्ते मन ते केसव'द्विताः । (Mahābhārata, Śhānti Parvā 341-46)

"those rays of mine which give light are called 'hairs' ".

Or,

ब्रह्मविष्णुशिवान्नामः सप्तयः केसव'द्विताः । (Viṣṇu Sāhasra nāmā, comm. on 82)

'the names of the Energies called Brahman, Viṣṇu and Śhivā are the 'hairs'.'

the 'Syllable of Obeisance.' Further within, on the mountain of the Joy of Knowing (Bodhā-ānandā), is the Hall of the Eight Letters (अष्टाक्षरो) in the centre of which stands an altar ; and above the altar is an intense radiance within which stands the throne built of Consciousness and adorned with the lotus of the 'Eight Letters'. Upon the Syllable of Obeisance, which is the heart of the lotus, is the sphere of consciousness of Sun, Moon and Fire, in which stands, most auspicious, the throne of the Serpent without end (Anantā Nāgā). Above this throne is the arch-mystic-diagram (Mahā yantrā) within which lies the In-Dweller's hermetic Utterance whose substance is the supreme Beatitude of the undisguised Supreme Principle ; within this again lies the Supreme Essence (परम तत्त्व), the All-Powerful support of all. The visible form (विग्रह) of this All-Powerful, is an ocean of beauty. The glory of His divinely auspicious body is made of delight-bearing waves. A troupe of incarnate Supreme Felicities (परम मङ्गल) rejoice in attending upon Him. His body is bedecked with divine jewels, sparkling like countless suns. The curl, Darling of Fortune, the jewel, Treasure of the Ocean, the Garland of the Forest, all adorn His breast. He is attended by 'Beauteous-Sight,' the conch 'Born-of-Five', the lotus, mace, sword, bow, club (मुसल), pitcher (परिब), and other attributes all made of Consciousness. Supreme joy flows in a constant stream of flowers of immortality from the forest of the Creator's Age (Brahmā-kalpā), and from countless Felicities filled with Principial Joy. The beauty of form of the all-powerful Lord is further enhanced by the vast umbrella made from the ten thousand hoods of 'the Remainder,' Śheṣhā ; the glittering jewels on these hoods heighten the brilliance of His body still more ; and, under the cataracts of radiance falling from his limbs, His appearance grows dazzling beyond words. Sublime shape of the totality of Principial Fragrance (ब्रह्मगन्ध), resplendent with garlands of sacred basil, and of countless other flowers the substance of which is the Joy of Consciousness, the body of the All-Powerful ever glistens with cascading streams of brilliance and vortices of amazing light. Surrounded with incense and sanctuary lights and with rare whisks, in the grandeur of his divine chariot, his umbrella, his pennant, the splendour of the All-Powerful is beyond all wonders.

१
THE ICON OF BENEDICTION

The lustre (कान्ति), soothing and delicious, of the marvellous beauty of this Icon of Benediction (मङ्गलमय विग्रह) of the All-Powerful has been compared with the light of the moon. The supernatural beauty of the All-Powerful can never be compared with natural moonlight; yet, since no supernatural object can be visualized by natural beings, and nothing in nature attracts their imagination more than the full moon, moonlight is used for comparison. But the light from one moon alone is not enough, countless millions of moons have to be pictured, and then this ocean of moonlight churned and its essence extracted; and this essence again churned for its subtler essence to emerge, and so, churning one hundred times, the last essence can be compared to the divine Icon of Benediction. It is the dazzling radiance of which the Gītā says :

विवि सूर्यसहस्रस्य भवेद्युगपदुत्थिता ।

यदि माः सङ्गृह्यो सा स्यादुभासस्तस्य महात्मनः ॥

(Bhag. Gītā II. 12)

"If a thousand suns, simultaneoply risen, blazed in the heavens, their splendour might approach the brilliancy of this Arch-Self."

But there is one blemish in the moon: She waxes and wains. Whereas the essence of essences of lunar substance is spot-less and changeless; it is endeared to the Mystics (मायुक्त), who love it ever more and more. It is of such marvellous beauty that he who drank but one drop of its nectar will evermore thirst for it. If but a single hair of the All-Powerful is perceived by sight or mind, it so enthralls by its loveliness that even the unstable divinity of Fortune, Lakṣhmī, is motionless before it.

The All-Powerful is not only likened to the light of the moon, but also to impenetrable darkness. But this darkness is not physical obscurity, but a darkness comparable only to the royal black saphire (महेन्द्र नील मणि), the extreme brilliance of which is of a strange night-blue, which shines so brightly that it would put to shame the light of countless moons. In the blue, lotus-like, divinely radiating visible form of the Lord is such delicacy that the divine Lakṣhmī, who embodies all the tenderness existing within the numberless universes, feels anxious, when she touches

his feet, lest the hardness of her hands should hurt these tender feet. This cool, this beautiful, this tender Lord is in colour so deep, that the depth of the blue lotus bud intensified unendingly, could not come near to its reality.

It is not only the face of the All-Powerful which can be compared with the light of the moon, but every one of his limbs. His colour is dark (कृष्ण), yet it glows not obscurely—rather it is, like brilliance springing from the womb of darkness, and although dark, the Lord's divine, auspicious visible appearance, puts to shame the light of untold moons.

The duskiness of the flax too, shimmering in the distance under the tender rays of an infant sun, enchants the mind, and if this duskiness could be imagined intensified a million-fold it might come somewhat near to the divine auspicious darkness of the visible Icon of the All-Powerful.

But these are only material comparisons ; through them no true knowledge can be had, yet, to approach knowledge no other means exist ; it is through natural elements that the supernatural can be conceived. All qualities are to be found in the All-Powerful, but multiplied an infinity of times. To imagine the immensity of the beauty and other qualities of the divine Icon of Benediction, the mind has to dwell upon the most divine things in Nature, and, multiplying their qualities countless, become gradually purer ; then, by the grace of the All-Powerful, His true shape appears in the cleansed heart.

THE DIVINE VISAGE

The Lord's face forms a marvellous open Lotus-wheel. Bright as moonlight, this lotus-face has perfect proportions. Its beauty seems the most divine moonbeam-essence trying to hide in the heart of a black lotus : it disappears, and comes again.

The smile of the All-Powerful is :

अनुग्रहाख्य हृत्स्थेन्दु सूचकस्मित चन्द्रिकाः

"The moonlight of the smile revealing the moon which dwells in the heart and is called 'mercy'."

The soothing rays of this moon of mercy give confidence to the mystic. A divine hope, driving out weariness and pain, helps him to go further. The tie of hope is the root of the way of devotion (Bhakti

Mārgā). This hope—this thirst for being near to Divinity is purchased at the price of even supreme beatitude (Kaivalyā). The dear smile of the Lord शोकाश्रुसागरविशोषणमत्युदारम् "gives courage and dries up even the ocean of tears." And, when upon His lotus-face the divine smile appears. His teeth, like buds of jasmine, seem a row of pearls. In the purity of His pearly laughter there is the blush of a rose; for, just as the crystal will reflect the red of a near-by China-rose, so do the pearly teeth reflect the ruby of His lips.

His cheek and chin, heralding their own beauty, seem to say: "See! the ultimate source from which the beauty of numberless Universes is derived; see the fount of the ambrosia of inconceivable beauty, one molecule of which alone will fill countless universes." Beneath the caress of the rays of the infant sun, the blue of the blue-lotus grows more intense as it nears the stamens in its heart, so does the intense brilliance of the cheek and chin of the All-Powerful grow under the divine radiance of the glittering diadem sparkling on his brow.

A mystic poem (ध्यान) speaks of red lotuses as the divine eyes of the Lord, in them red and transparency unite, showing that, through the expanding tendency which is red, the All-Powerful creates all that his faithful ones (भावुक) desire, and, through the ascending tendency which is transparency, he protects that which he has created. Their proportion is such that, where mental inclinations, like compassion and attachment, manifest themselves, the red is intensified, and, where the happiness of passionlessness appears, white transparency predominates. Such burning emotions as anger greatly increase the red, which become like fire. Slanting almost to the ears, these large eyes of the All-Powerful, are "red as the womb of a lotus" (पद्ममर्दिण); yet the pupil in the centre remains always black.

The aquiline nose rises high, beautiful as a parrot's beak, resplendent like the cheeks. In one nostril, charmingly set, is the rarest of pearls.

The ruby lips reflect the pure divine teeth, the row of Jasmine buds, as the pure teeth reflect the ruby lips. Nowhere is beauty so glorious as upon these lips,—these divine lips of nectar of the All-Powerful.

The two shining earrings are of a glowing gold, wherein many gems are set, shaped like the sea-monster, the emblem of Kāmā (Eros), as if to fight and conquer him.

Such is the lotus-face of the All-Powerful, with its tender smile and

laughing glances, delicious resting place for the eyes of those who possess power to see.

It is the All-Powerful

त्रियो निवासो यस्योरः पानपात्रं मुखं दृशाम् ।

बाह्वो लोकपालानां सारंगानां पदाम्बुजम् ॥

"whose breast is the dwelling place of Fortune, whose face is the chalice whence the seers drink, whose arms are the world's guardians (लोक पाल), and whose lotus feet [are the sublime melody] of those who hymn the essence [of all existence] (सार तत्त्व).

His eyebrows and eyes are arched like the bow of Kāmā. On the broad forehead two auspicious lines are drawn with sandal paste, saffron and amber. They appear two streaks of lightening which have renounced their fugitiveness to rest upon the cloud of the divine forehead, or two arrows ready to be shot from the bow of the divine brow.

On the cheeks of the All-Powerful languidly rests a lovely curl. This raven lock seems to have been born from a black snake by the lust of a divine moon. The raven blue hairs are the companies of the ever-liberated sages (muni), Sanakā and others, delighting in the sweetness of the All-Powerful. So, too, the rows of pearls in the diadem are the ranks of the infinitely pure, the liberated supreme-swans.¹

Every element of the Icon of Benediction is divine, not one pertains to the Natural World. Thus, the earrings are the sciences of Cosmology (Sāṅkhyā) and Re-integration (Yogā), the Garland-of-the-Forest is Creative Illusion (māyā-tattvā) the yellow scarf is Rhythm (chhandā), the diadem the supreme stage, the pearl the liberated being.

In this mystery play (līlā), the liberated beings changed into bees have themselves become integral parts of the Icon of Benediction. These bees, attracted by the fragrance of the divine face, approach, but, unable to bear the tremendous brilliance, rush away to return again, so irrevocable is the attraction of the lotus-face.

1. The mythical swan is said to be able to extract and drink the pure milk of divine knowledge which was mixed with water (the world of forms). The word haṃsā (swan) signifies Ahaṃ-śah "I am He" the hermetic utterance of supreme identification.

THE DIVINE BODY

Upon every limb of this divine Icon of Benediction a beautiful ointment of yellow sandal and saffron is spread like the light of the moon over a mountain of black sapphire. From this divine body rises an exquisite eight-fold fragrance. Beyond the reach of the Gods themselves, it is the privilege of supreme mystics alone to experience this perfume.

Upon the arms of the All-Powerful round as the trunk of the young elephant, and on other parts of His body, a divine paste of sandal, saffron and musk is spread; in it the glowing red-gold of the brilliant bangles and armlets is reflected. These arms, with the five fingers of the hands, seem the five-headed serpents of a heavenly world, and the fingernails shine like the jewels set in the serpents' heads. The back of the hand is of a dazzling blue-black like the rest of the body, and the red of the palms is delicate as a red lotus. When the All-Powerful blows His conch clasped in these red palms, the purity of the mother-of-pearl is reddened and it is as if, between two halves of a lotus, a swan sang its tender, melodious lay.

Upon the divine lotus face of the all-powerful Lord, upon His forehead, His cheeks, His chin and upon His hands the mystics, with yellow sandal, saffron and musk draw many strange designs. Be a mere glance at the palms of these divine hands obtained, and all the world's happiness, born from the womb of sorrow, fades to nought.

The arms of the All-Powerful are both two and four. Clasped in the divine hands are the conch, the discus, the mace and the lotus.

The conch is the watery elemental principle (जलतत्त्व); the mace 'Stupefier of the mind' (Kaumodakī)¹ is the principle of physical vigour; the discus 'Beauteous-Sight' is the fiery principle, and the sword is the principle of space [ether] (अमस्तत्त्व).

In the region of the navel of the All-Powerful are three lovely lines, and between them, as in the dark waters of some pool of the black Jumnā, a whirlpool of prodigious force of attraction miraculously appears. From it, the whole Universe sprang.

1. कौमोदकी नीदयति च वेतः।

Kaumodakī is that which inebriates the mind.

On the divine loins is a many stringed girdle. Loins to ankle are wrapped in a fine yellow veil; the dark brilliance of the body clearly shines through it. The thighs of the All-Powerful, likened to the stems of a plantain tree, which have the intense blue of flax, beautifully rest upon the back of the blessed "Wings of Speech"; "Wings of Speech" is, verily, the Word Principle (Śhabdā-Brahman), whose shape is the triple Wisdom, the Vedas, of Rhythm, Sound and Substances (Rik, Sāmā and Yajuh). Above it, beyond word, beyond the general and the particular, stands, indestructible, the Supreme Principle, the Supreme Self.

त्रिवेदः सुपर्णाख्यो यज्ञं वहति पुरुषम्

"The triple Vedā, said to be a bird, bears the Person of the sacrifice."¹

1. The sacrifice as the Boar shape of Viṣṇu.

यज्ञो वै विष्णुः । (Tal. Sam. I. 7. 8.) : "The sacrifice is Viṣṇu."

सर्वयज्ञस्यपत्न्या यज्ञः सर्वेषां देवानां तुष्टिकारको यज्ञाकारेण प्रवर्तते इति

(Viṣṇu Sahasrā nāmā 90.)

"Because He is the intrinsic shape of all sacrifices, or, because under the form of the ritual sacrifice, yagñā. He satisfies all the gods, He Himself is called the sacrifice."

वेदपादो यूपर्दङ्गः कतुहसहितो मुखः । अग्निजिह्वो दन्तरोमा मण्डवीर्षो महातपाः ॥
 चक्षुराक्षिण्यो दिव्यो वेदाङ्गस्तुतिभूषणः । कायमासः क्षुब्धतपः शान्तो वस्त्रो महान् ॥
 धर्मसत्यमयः शीमान् कमलजलसद्विहङ्गः । प्रायश्चित्तमख्यो शीरः पञ्चानुमंदाभुजः ॥
 उद्गात्रमन्त्रो होमनिष्ठा शीरोऽपि महाकलः । वायुमण्डला मन्त्रविद्वन् विहङ्गः शीमशोभितः ॥
 विशिष्टमन्त्रो हविर्गन्धो हव्यश्चक्ष्याति वेगवान् । प्रान्थ्यकाव्यो तुष्टिमाप्नोतीति चामिर्चितः ॥
 दक्षिणापदयो शीरो महासममयो महान् । उपाकर्मो हव्यकलः प्रवर्तयति भूषणः ॥
 गानाच्छन्दो गतिपथो मुखोऽपि महाकलः । क्षाया पवित्रमयो वै मेघमूढ इत्युच्यते ॥

(Harivamśā, III. 34, 34-41)

"The Vedās are His feet, the sacrificial post His teeth, the offering (कतुः) His hand, the pyre (विहति) His mouth, fire His tongue, the sacred grass His hair; His head is the Priestly order (the Brahman) and His penance is great. He is supernatural, with day and night for eyes, the six 'appendices of Eternal Wisdom' (Vedaṅgā) for ear-rings; ghee is His nose, the sacrificial ladle His snout, the Sāmā Vedā is his powerful cry. Made of Eternal Law and Truth, possessor of all riches, His good deeds are hierarchy and order. His nails are penitence (प्रयश्चित्त). He is fearful, His knees are those of an animal, His arms are long. The Reciter is His entrails, the oblation His penis; seeds and herbs are His great fruit. Air is His inner self, harmonic utterances His skin, soma sap His blood, great is His stride. The altar is His shoulder, the offering to gods and ancestors is His smell. His speed is great. His body is the sacrificial rest-house; brilliant, He is honoured by many initiatory ceremonies, he is the great Yogī, whose heart is the wealth given, whose substance is the sacrificial session. His lips and teeth are the preliminaries to the Spring sacrifices. He is adorned with curly bodily hairs which are the preliminaries to the Soma sacrifice. The many Vedic metres are His way in and out. The most secret teachings of the 'Nearest Approach' are His seat. His body is tall as the peak of Mount Meru; He is enthroned with His wife who is Chhāyā (Shadow)."

From the left shoulder of the All-Powerful, below His right arm down to the swelling of the hip, gleams a yellow triple sacred-thread. This principal thread (Brahmā-sūtrā) is the one 'syllable of obeisance' AUM, the fundamental thread on which are strung the countless Universes.

THE DIVINE FEET

The two knees of the All-Powerful are caressed by the wonderfully soft hands of the Arch-Divinity of Fortune. On his ankles are many ornaments and anklets set with gems whose tinkle gladdens the three worlds. From the dark glowing throat embellished by the jewel 'Treasure-of-the-Ocean,' down to the ankles, yet allowing the dark feet to be seen, the brilliant yellow veil shimmers on both sides like streamers of lightning; and its hem, set with precious stones, adds to the multicoloured glow of incomparable richness. Gazing and gazing at it, the mystic hopes to satisfy the desire of his eyes, but the splendour of this divine Icon of Benediction endless yet always new, only increases the thirst for the sap of its nectar of beauty.

On the lotus-feet of the all-powerful Lord are many exquisite designs drawn with sandal paste. The toe-nails are like pearls; one glimpse of the light of their moon extinguishes all the fires that rage in the heart.

These lotus-feet are the ultimate object of love of the adorers. Bees, which are the minds of the peers among sages (मुनीन्द्र) shelter in these water-blossom feet, the feet sung by the sublime swans. When the breeze, caresser of these lotus-feet, entered, fragrant with sacred basil, into the heart of Sanakā and other great sages, their bodies, their minds, their life-breath even became frantic, and in them arose a passionate attachment to the feet of the All-Powerful. From this divine agitation sprang the eight purifying (sattvikā) emotions (भाव). Not one of the other limbs of the All-Powerful made the lords among sages so drunk as did His feet. It was as if they had sold themselves for the divinely fragrant beauty. They prayed: 'May our minds, like drunken bees, enraptured by Thy lotus-feet, ever continue savouring this divine honey.'

The soles of the feet beautifully rest upon a divine lotus.

The lines on these feet are intrinsic beauty. He who has once seen these lines, for ever keeps his eyes fixed upon them; ever gazing at them,

devotees of the All-Powerful are able to destroy lust and other passions. According to some of the traditional Teachers (āchāryās), these lines are fifteen, but other Teachers say sixteen and yet others nineteen.

Upon the right big-toe is a mark like a divine wheel (chakrā). By meditating upon this wheel, the knot of Consciousness is loosened, while by meditating upon a barley-corn mark, which is on the joint of the toe, happiness and wealth are obtained. From between the first and second toes a line rises to the arch of the foot. Below the wheel, on the big-toe, are three marks—at the joint a barley-corn, at the root a circle, and, beyond, a parasol to protect from heat. At the root of the middle toe is a most lovely lotus which intoxicates the bee-mind of him who meditates. Below this lotus is a flag by seeing which all evils are destroyed. At the root of the little-toe is a fork of lightning; the devotees, concentrating their minds upon it, see the mountain of their sins destroyed. Below the heel is an elephant-driving hook which brings under control that mad elephant, the intellect of the devotee.

The measurement of the right foot of the all-powerful Lord is fourteen finger-breadths in length and six in breadth. In a space four fingers broad, in the middle of the foot, is a fourfold chalice (कलश) with four rose-apples (jambu) on its sides; below is the mark of a two day-old crescent moon, an auspicious sign for the faithful, bringing to them ever-increasing happiness. Below the moon is the hoof-mark of a cow, which represents the Ocean of existence (मावसागर). This is to show that those who take refuge in Divinity cross the Ocean of existence without effort, as if it were a mere hoof-mark. At the root of the big toe of the left foot is a conch. Meditating upon it, physicality (पाथिव जड़त्व) is removed, all dirt flies to dust and all the Sapience which represents the purest mental tendencies begins, under the forms of Rhythms (Rik), Sounds (Sāmā) and Substance (Yajuḥ), to vibrate within the purified inner-faculties; and, just as happened to the unchanging Dhruvā, when the conch touched his cheek, he who meditates finds himself, in one instant, knowing all sciences (vidyās).

The middle toe of the left foot is connected with the Ether (Ambarā)¹

1. The word 'ambarā'—'the support of sound' is equivalent to Ākāśhā, 'that which gives space' both being properties of Ether.

अम्बरं वायुः यं रात्रिचक्षते ।

1. "Ambā is Word, that which supports it."

Ether is dissociate because it never associates with the other elements which it supports.

Ether is dissociate (a-saṅga) ; hence, in him who meditates, the mind, concentrating upon ether, becomes dissociate, that is freed from attachment, and moulds itself upon the form of the all-pervading Supreme Principle. Upon the left lotus-foot are four svastikās, symbols of all that is auspicious. Between the svastikās is an octagonal figure ; some believe it to be the giver of the eight supernatural powers, or siddhis, while others say they represent the eight world-guardians, regents of the eight directions, which here wait upon the devotees.

On the little toe of the left foot is the sign of the solar principle (सूर्य-तत्त्व) ; by gazing at it, every kind of obscurity (ध्वान्त = अन्धकार) disappears.

On the left lotus-foot is an image (अनुसन्धान) of the stringless bow of the King of Heaven, Indra. Behind the bow are four amphoras (कलश), between them a triangle suggesting the qualification for ruling the three worlds. To obtain supremacy over the three worlds, the way of the triangle must be followed. But those whose whole love is for the All-Powerful can never leave Him to run after these three worlds. Another interpretation calls the triangle : that which is subject to the three fundamental qualities.

The triangle also suggests the obtaining of that essence which can be reached through the triple Eternal Wisdom.

The All-Powerful is to be bowed down to in mind, in word and in body. He, the One, is to be honoured in this triple way. His colour and shape may be conceived of according to one's inclination (भावना). In His qualified form, the Lord is not free, but dependant upon the wishes of his devotees, for it is to fulfill these wishes that He manifests himself.

The Creator, Brahmā, praising the All-Powerful, said :

यद्दु मद्दु धियात्त उरगात् विभावयन्ति । तत्तद्गुः प्रणयसे सद्गुप्रहाय ॥

"O Thou who deserve worship ! In whichever form in their minds they like to conceive of Thee, that form, Thou, with true mercy, taketh."

The All-Powerful is the slave of those who love Him ; His own wish is His substance, hence is He dependant upon those who are His own.

तं यथा यद्योपास्ते तथैव भवति : "As He is worshipped, so He becomes."

There is too, a well-known saying in both the Scripture of Eternal Wisdom (Vedā) and the Gītā :

ये यथा मां प्रपद्यन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ' "In the way they approach me, in that way do I welcome them."

The primary cause of the millions of Universes is in the Lord, and the primary cause of the Lord is in the devotee ; hence, the Ruler of the moving Universe is really the devotee. If it please him to change something in the marks on the divine feet, he is free to do so. Whatever he imagines becomes true. It is because these imaginings are truth itself that the All-Powerful ever appears under new shapes. It is the nature of the human mind ever to wish for new things, and it is therefore a necessity for the mystics ever to invent anew. Not only the shape of the All-Powerful, but also the divine stories take ever new forms for the adorers of the Lord.

The imagining of ever new Icons of Benediction, the inventing of new ornaments, new raiment for the All-Powerful, is a necessity for the worship of His manifest aspects. Some, therefore, liken His yellow veil to lightning, others see in it the glow of the stamen of the Kadambā blossoms [which open at the roar of thunder], others, again, compare it to the sun's rays. So, likewise, the jewel-nails are sometimes said to be rows of pearls; sometimes imagined as a divine blend of blue, red and transparency, to which again is sometimes added the brilliance of rings. From the orb of these jewel-nails light is seen shooting upwards. Yet even Sanakā and the other sages have been unable to express these qualities ; so pregnant with beauty are these divine shapes of the All-Powerful, that they remain ever beyond words.

THE FOURTH-STAGE

The all-powerful Lord, in His shape as the Fourth-Stage or beyond the Fourth-Stage, is quality-less, actionless, un-sullied, faultless, art-less, shape-less, support-less, un-surpassed, non-dual intrinsic supreme Joy.

The question will arise as to how in the pure, non-dual, absolute principle of supreme Joy, diversity can have arisen, how could even any un-Hindered world with palaces, ramparts, flying chariots, etc., come into exis-

ence. And if all these are real, how can unparticularized non-duality be spoken of? The answer may be found in the example of pure gold in which arise differentiation into bangles, diadems, armlets; or of sea-water in which arises differentiation into crests and troughs, ripples or foam, or, again, the earth from which arise mountains, trees, grass, creepers, etc. Similarly within the non-dual, supreme Principle arises the Un-Hindered and many other worlds. Everything is a form of the All-Powerful, nothing can exist outside the divine essence.

मत्स्वरूपेण सर्वं मद्बुद्धतिरिक्तमणुमात्रं न विद्यते ।

"Everything is my form, outside me there is not even one atom."

Now the Approacher, reaching the supreme Un-Hindered world, and concentrating his mind upon the All-Powerful, becomes himself the intrinsic form of unsurpassed, non-dual supreme Joy, and stands with absolute awareness within the process of non-dual reintegration (Advaitā Yogā). Coming towards non-dual supreme joy, and becoming the intrinsic form of the pure joy of knowing, he mutters the Arch-Utterance and, understanding that his own self is the very Principle, the Brahman, and that the Brahman is his own self, he pours himself into the Brahman like a ritual offering (होम). Then, through the notion 'I, the Principle' he becomes identified with the waveless, non-dual beyondless, unsurpassed Principle which is Being-Consciousness-Joy.

The beautiful description in the scripture of 'Nearest Approach' of the three-legged Majesty, the Arch-In-Dweller (त्रिपाद्विभूतिमहानारायणो पनिषद्) has only been given briefly here in its main points.

In contact with the Energy which is pure ascending tendency, there appear, within the essence which is Consciousness and Joy, all the endless hierarchies of the Un-Hindered worlds. The Essence beyond Energy is ever without shape, changeless, unparticularized. Because Energy is ineffable, that which is touched by Energy (शक्ति संस्पृष्ट) is truly ever, and in every way, aloof from all that has place or time or substance. Yet it is all things, nowhere is anything distinct from it.

It is from this point of view that the divine Worlds and forms are spoken of in the Ancient Scripture. In the blessed Bhāgavatā it is said that amongst the glories displayed by Lord Kṛiṣṇā before the Creator, Brahmā, were innumerable Viṣṇus said to be worshipped by the embodied twenty-four principles of existence. These were

सत्यज्ञानानन्तानन्दैकरसमूर्तयः ।

अस्पृष्टभूरिमाहात्म्या अपि ह्युपनिषद्दृशाम् ॥

"The icons of the one sap of Truth, Knowledge and limitless Joy, beyond possibility of contact for the highest spirituality, even that of the seers of the 'Nearest Approach.'"

Verily, no-one can know, in its entirety, the limitless spiritual immensities of the All-Powerful! Since they have no end, the All-Powerful Himself cannot reach their limit.

THE SUPERSTRUCTURE OF THE HINDU TEMPLE

by ST. KRAMRISCH

Works of architecture serve a purpose ; the Hindu Temple as much as a Gothic cathedral exceed their function of being a house or seat of divinity. While their orientation and expansion are in the four regions of space, their main direction, in the vertical, is towards God, the Supreme Principle, which is beyond form and above His seat or house of manifestation. From all the regions of space, from its walls in the four directions and their corners in the intermediate directions, the Prāsāda rises bodily towards its high point, tier on tier, until diminished in its bulk it forms the High Altar (vedi) on which is placed the crowning High Temple or the Āmalaka with its finial that ends in a point.

Metaphysical knowledge and realisation by religion have their visible residue in architectural form, in its fundamental shapes and their relation. The square and cube of the walls of the Garbhagr̥ha, seen from outside, encompass the Centre ; thence they rise to the Highest Point by way of the pyramid or such similar shapes which effect a transition from the square of extensiveness, the Vāstu, and from its enclosing walls to the point. The pyramid or its curvilinear equivalent, the Śikhara, placed on the cube, are the inevitable form of the superstructure of the Vimāna.

The pyramid or its curvilinear equivalent are the superstructure on the walls of the Garbhagr̥ha (Figs h, d), the means by which the purpose of the temple is shown to those who come to see it (darśana) and to attain release. Inside the Garbhagr̥ha, in the interior of the temple, the superstructure has no effect but that of darkness if it is hollow ; a ceiling, however, as a rule, occupies the position of a flat roof.

The Līnga or image in the Garbhagr̥ha, the main object of worship, is the place sought after by the devotee, the Centre where he is made whole. To this centre also leads the vertical, from the high point to which his eye and mind while he approached the temple had

been lead by the superstructure. The interior cavity, the Garbhagṛha, is the place of release ; the external form of the Prāsāda is its monument. Extended in space, its body is reduced to a central point even beyond its bulk.¹

The Prāsāda is piled up with the logic inherent in fundamental form ; cube and pyramid for example yield the meaning of their co-ordinated shape along the vertical axis. In terms of volume their combination is the result first of expansion and then of concentration and contraction the total monument, the Prāsāda, is a symbol of manifestation on its vertical walls and together with them of its gradual reduction to the point above the sloping sides of the superstructure.

Such one-pointed monumental forms are not seen in the representation of sanctuaries preserved in early Indian art, in the Buddhist reliefs carved from about the second century B. C. to the third century A. D. To the Buddhists, it seems, Prāsāda meant palace and temple as well, whereas a Hindu temple, the Prāsāda proper with its superstructure leading to the Highest Point, cannot be mistaken for, or derived from, a palace or any dwelling of man.

The term Śikhara was established in Vāstu-śāstra, the texts on architecture, which are known to us from the sixth century A. D. onward only. There it refers to the superstructure of the Garbhagṛha ; in the fully evolved Hindu temple north of the river Kistna it is the most conspicuous, indispensable part of the exterior of the Prāsāda. The Śikhara is here understood as the mountain or peak like super-structure above the perpendicular walls of the Prāsāda.

In its most widely accepted types, the superstructure comprises the parts which are either a curvilinear and truncated body, a neck (kaṇṭha, gala, grīvā) and crowning part (āmalaka) or a pyramidal truncated body and on it a small High Temple (vimāna) whose 'walls' form the solid neck (kaṇṭha, gala, grīvā) of its massive dome-shape as the crowning part (Figs. f-h). Śikhara in the present context is used to denote the whole super-structure including the 'crown' and up to the finial ; this is the generally accepted meaning in early Vāstusāstra.

In South Indian texts, however, the pyramidal superstructure is

1. The entire Prāsāda is a superstructure on the Vāstupuruṣamaṇḍala.

Type I A

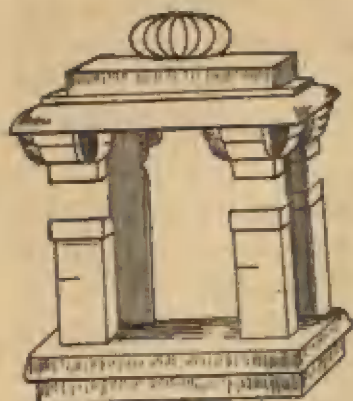


Fig. a.* Liṅga shrine, Mahākūṭeśvar; Type I A 1

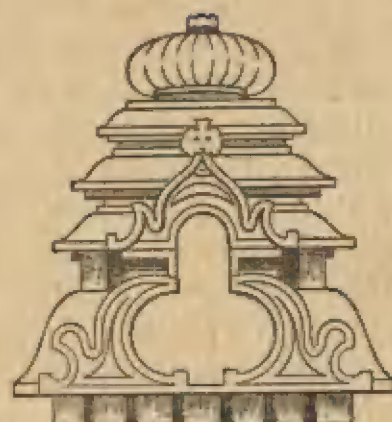


Fig. a.** from Sācānāth; Type I A 2



Fig. b.* Temple No 10, Aihole; combined Type (I A 1 and I B 1)

* Drawn after H. Cousens, 'The Chālukyan Architecture', ASI, vol. XLII, NIS, Pls. XXVI and XIX.

** Drawn after a relief of the Gupta age; Coomaraswamy, 'Early Indian Architecture', 'Eastern Art', III, Fig. 59.

designated by the number of its storeys (bhūmī) whereas Śikhara is the name of the dome-shaped massive roof of the small crowning miniature temple only (vimāna-kṣudra-alpa-vimāna). Śikhara in this sense is the subject of verses 65-74, ch. XXXII of the 'Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati', Part III. This Śikhara or massive dome-shaped roof is described as square or circular, six or eight sided.

Śikhara thus particularly denotes a shape curvilinear in the vertical section whether it is used to designate the whole superstructure of Northern Indian Prāsādas or the cupola of the High Temple only which is placed on top of the superstructure of South Indian Prāsādas. This two-fold use of the term Śikhara in Indian Vāstuśāstra has led to wrong interpretations. Its square or round, etc., horizontal section on South Indian temples (śiraś-chanda; 'Mayamata', XVIII. 1) has mistakenly been considered by modern scholars a criterion of the entire super-structure of a Hindu temple.

Śikhara, however, is an ancient term of Indian architecture; it is used frequently both in the 'Rāmāyaṇa' and in the 'Mahābhārata' when alluding to the Prāsāda in the shape of a mountain, like Kailāsa or Meru. With its storeys it is itself like a mountain ('Rāmāyaṇa', IV. 33. 8)¹ whatever its actual form might have been, of which there is no clear indication given in the Epics. The Prāsāda, high and dazzling like Mount Kailāsa in the Himālayas and like Mount Meru which is known only by the mind, is the seat of divinity and the World Mountain, symbol of the polar axis, the vertical which leads from the Centre to the Highest Point. While the whole temple is generally likened to the Mountain, the term Śikhara in early Vāstu-śāstra generally applies to every variation of the super-structure.

1. Some of the many later inscriptions which so describe it are given here. "Om, a Prāsāda like Meru above Himavān.....", Inscription of Meruvarman, ASIAR, 1902-3, p. 243. Elsewhere, a stone temple is dedicated "resembling in lustre the mountain Mandara" (ASIAR, 1905-6, p. 183).

The Khajuraho Inscr. of the Vikrama year 1011 (A. D. 953-54) discovered amongst ruins at the base of the Lakṣmaṇa temple, verse 42, extols "a charming, splendid home of Viṣṇu which rivals the peaks of the mountains of snow". 'Ep. Ind.' vol. I, p. 121 f.

In South Indian Vāstuśāstra the entire superstructure is discussed according to its number of 'storeys' (bhūmī); it bears no special name.

The passage of the I. P. given above, strictly refers to the shape of the massive dome of the small High Temple on top of the storied pyramid of a South Indian Temple. The other parts of the temple should conform with them "yathārham tu yathāśobham" lit: as is fit and beautiful (T. P. III. XXVIII, 42).

ture which rises from the perpendicular walls of the Prāsāda, and covers the Garbhagrha.

Its pointed form is generally accepted and preserved in India from the fifth or sixth century A. D. to this day. Various kinds, however, of high roofs

Type II

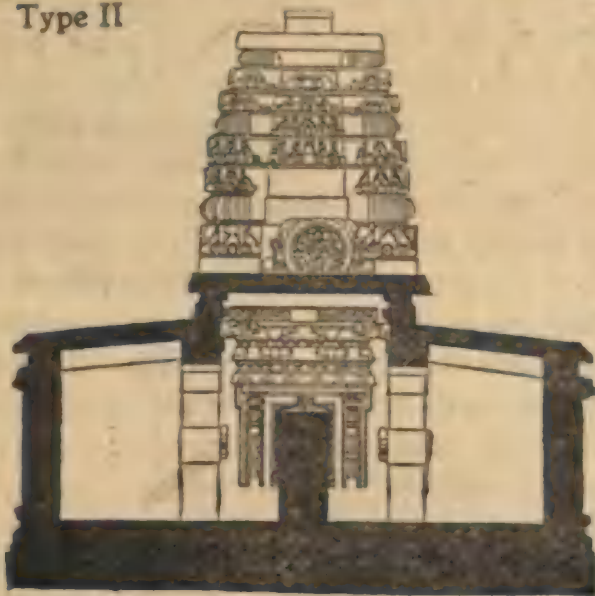


Fig. d.* Temple No. 9, Aihole.

were not destined to be generally accepted forms of the superstructure of the Hindu temple. The keel vaulted shape became the typical top of the gate towers, the Gopuras, of temples in South India.

1. This type appears to be an adaptation of the Buddhist Caitya hall. The Kapoteśvara temple at Chezarla appears to have been such a Caitya hall converted for Śaiva worship.

The Vadamallīśvara Temple at Oragadam, near Mamallapuram, of the 10th century (ASIAR Southern Circle, 1914-15.) has an apsidal superstructure above its Garbhagrha, from which it is closed off by a ceiling of teak wood rafters, concrete and plaster.—The Hastipṛṣṭha type figures in Vāstu-śāstra, from the temple called Kuljara, in the list of the "20 temples" of the 'Bṛhat Saṁhitā'.

2. Bhīma Ratha at Mamallapuram, about 650 A. D.; the Navadevi shrines at Yagśēvar, Almora (8th-9th century; ASIAR, 1928-29, Pl. IV); the Vaital Deul or Kapālini Temple, Bhuvaneśvar, Orissa, about 850 A. D.; the Teli-ka-Mandir, Gwalior, 11th century; the Vaital Deul represents a subvariety of the Khākharā type, also the Teli-ka-Mandir. The 'Bhuvanapradīpa', ch. XCVII, (ed. N. K. Bose pp. 171-73), distinguishes three varieties of the Khākharā type; Draviṣā, Barabhi and Kosali; these names appear to refer to an originally geographical distribution of the varieties of the Khākharā type, but similar to the names of the domes or Śikhara in South Indian temples they are used for the purpose of classification only.

* From Cousens, 'The Chālukyan Architecture', Pl. XVI.

of the Prāsāda exist; the apsidal temple with a barrel vaulted roof;¹ or a rectangular sanctuary with its superstructure crowned by a waggon vaulted roof;² neither of these vaulted shapes with their horizontal sky-line express the ultimate aim of Hindu life, which is Mokṣa, release by reintegration. These types, reminiscent of buildings as represented in Buddhist reliefs and also in some of the early paintings in Ajanṭā,

Apart from these vaulted roofs there are several types of domes represented in the reliefs mentioned. They belong to the huts of hermits, to chapels or to temples. The Nāga or Fire chapel represented in one of the Sāñci reliefs is supported on four posts and has a dome which shows a construction in sections. In this and other examples, four or eight spherical triangles are joined with sharp edges. It is seen in other reliefs that round domes were frequent over circular buildings.¹ These various dome-shapes were transmuted, as extant examples show, from their leaf covered prototypes (parṇakūṭa, parṇasālā) and bamboo frame, into brick and stone; they form the solid dome-shape of the small High Temple which crowns the South Indian Prāsāda with its pyramidal super-structure.

The pyramidal trunk itself of the superstructure has no prototype in the relief representations of Barhut and Sāñci. Only the dome of the High Temple, the small Vimāna (figs. e-h) resembles by its external shape the types of domed buildings represented in the early reliefs. The High Temple however is not a building, it is a massive crown of the monument.² As a rule the storeyed pyramidal superstructure is nothing but a monument; it may be altogether solid, such internal space as it then may contain lessens its weight, is due to structural expediency and being unassessable from outside and, as a rule, inaccessible, has no architectural significance.³ This applies also to the curvilinear Śikhara.

The superstructure of the Hindu Temple is not a high roof. None of the roof forms represented in the early reliefs nor built to-day in rural India have been stretched or stilted in order to yield the height of the superstructure.

1. Agni-grha; -agāra; -śālā; -śarapa denote a Fire chapel ('Bāmāyana', II. 91, 11; 99. 12, etc.). 'Huts with domes in four sections are represented in Barhut (R. P. Chanda, 'Beginning of the Śikhara of the Nāgara Temples', Būpam. 1924, Figs. 1-3); a circular temple with a round dome, the Sudhamma Devasabbā also in Barhut (ib. fig. 4).

A building, having apparently an oval plan and an oval, curvilinear tiled roof with a ridge, is represented in a relief of stūpa II, Sāñci; Marshall-Foucher, 'The Monuments of Sanchi', vol III. Pl. XC, 86a.

The Nāga chapel is represented in the second panel on the interior face of the left jamb of the East Gate.

2. The non-structural function of the diminutive High Temple is also to be seen on one of the small shrines of Aihole (No. 11); Cousens, 'The Chālukyan Architecture', p. 48, fig. 13; it is placed above the flat tiers of the pyramidal superstructure. The designation "High Temple" is made by analogy of the term "High Altar."

3. See however the Vaikunṭha Perumal Temple, in Conjeevaram; or the Mahābodhi Temple in Bodhi gayā, which had a chamber opening from the second story.

Type I B



Fig. e. • Śiva Temple at
Enadi, Pudukottai



Fig. g. Shore Temple, Mamallapuram

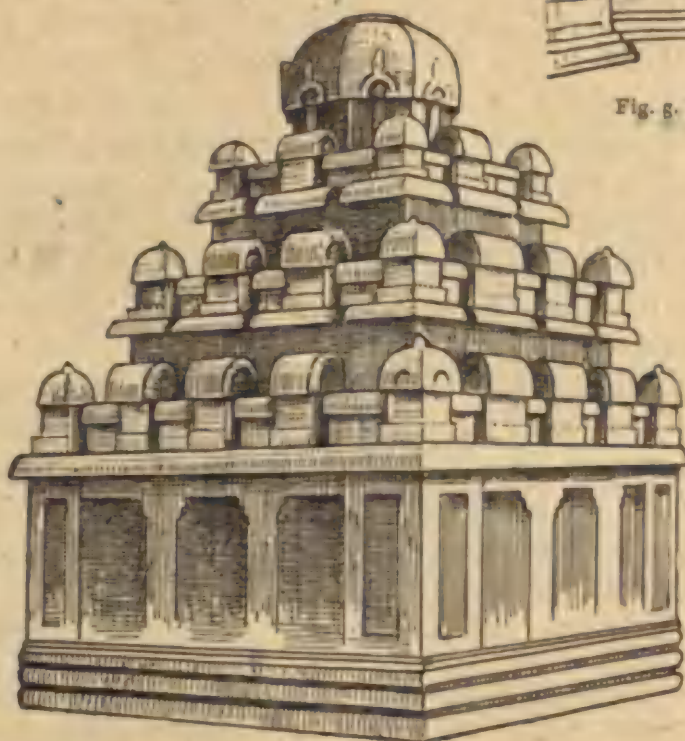


Fig. f. Dharmarāja Ratha, Mamallapuram

Drawn after JIRSA, vol. V, Pl. XI.

The superstructure of the Hindu temple is a monument whose *raison d'être* is symbolical. Where it is piled up in horizontal tiers, each similar to the other, their profiles owe their variety in different types of temples to several architectural constituents which in their original context have their main extension in the horizontal. The horizontal courses and mouldings of the superstructure are adaptations of various structural forms. The main tiers or storeys are called *Bhūmi*; they are the levels of the superstructure and of the spiritual ascent of the devotee.¹

The two main types of the superstructure of the fully evolved Hindu temple both have truncated bodies; their sides which are either straight or curved are terminated by a platform (*skandha*; the shoulder course). Above rests the crowning portion, (a miniature *Vimāna* or an *Āmalaka*) whence rises the finial.

The ascent towards the highest point, is given shape by a concourse of several components. The pyramidal superstructure, in its generally accepted shape in South India for example, (Figs. f-h), is composed of three main factors of which (1) the recessed tiers or storeys are the chief and supporting element; (2) above the last of these storeys rises the miniature *Vimāna* or *Harmya*, the High Temple, (3) each storey is surrounded by a rampart or enclosure composed of chapels. In this its complete form, the pyramidal superstructure is an amalgam of several independent types of buildings. Its form is complex; it is, however, not the only of its kind. Contemporary with it are other forms of the pyramidal superstructure, though less rich in components.

The evolution of the superstructure did not take place in one narrow channel. Contributors to its form are many and so are their combinations but their conjunction is to one end, to lead from a broad base to a high central point; all the resources that lend themselves to this end are strung together and amalgamated. Simple, aboriginal types for example are incorporated in the most evolved and complex monuments.

One of the sites most helpful in gaining an understanding of several

1. In some temples in *Bhuvaneśvar*, Orissa, constructed after the tenth century and generally in temples of Northern India subsequent to the thirteenth century, no horizontal mouldings appear on the curvilinear *Śikhara*s.

The '*Bhuvanaprādīpa*' (N. K. Bose, '*Canons of Orissan Architecture*', p. 114) enumerates in the downward direction, the presiding divinities of a *Śikhara* of 10 *Bhūmis*.

Type I B

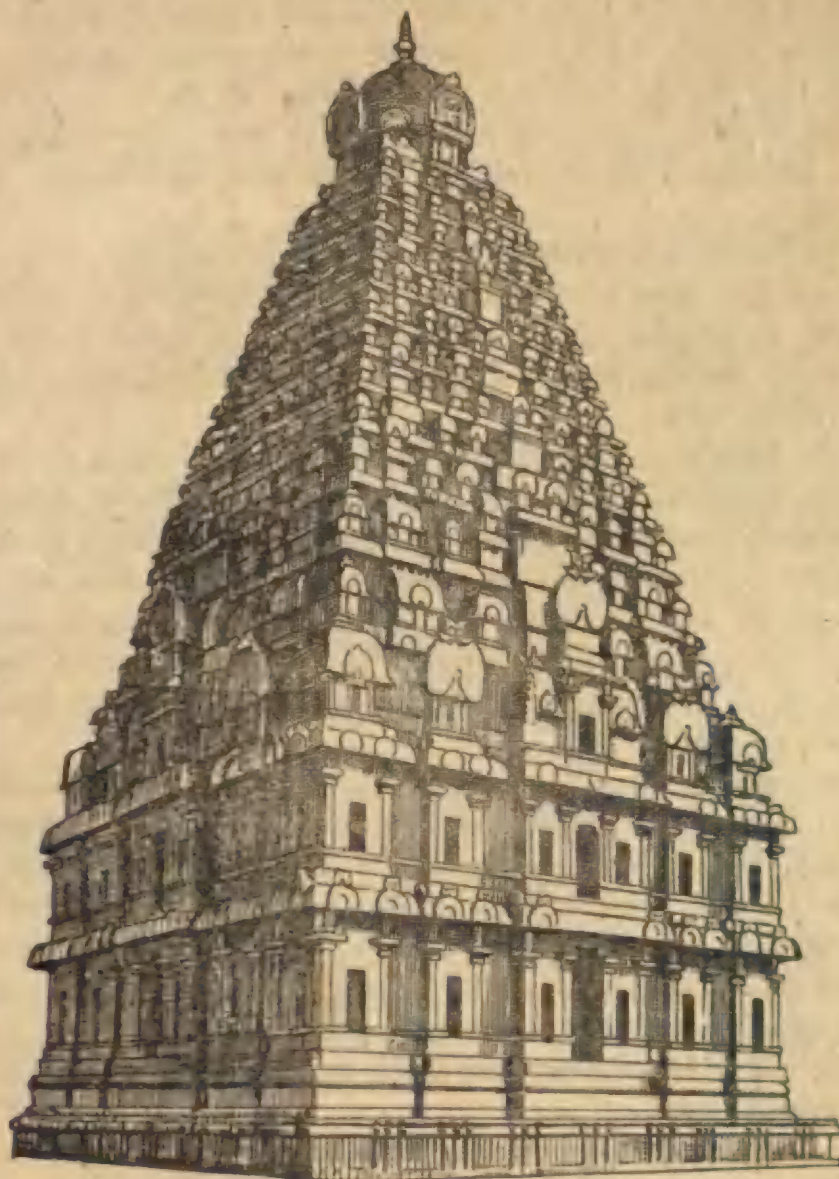


Fig. h. Bhadriśvara Temple, Tanjore

leading types of the superstructure is Mahākūṭeśvara (Makūṭeśvara), near Bādāmi, Bijapur District, where many temples surround a tank in which a small Liṅga shrine is built (Fig. a). The main temple, that of Śiva Makūṭeśvara, has given its name to the place and is mentioned in an

inscription dated 601 A. D. from which it appears to have been constructed in the third quarter of the sixth century. In its superstructure are combined all the factors mentioned above by which is distinguished the most complex type of its Southern form. Other temples of this site have pyramidal superstructures of a more simple type; others again have curvilinear Śikharas, fully evolved as far as their constituent factors are concerned.¹

The temples at Mahākūṭeśvara having curvilinear Śikharas² may also be of the same or a slightly later date; they seem to correspond to the types of temples which are classified in the 'Bṛhat Saṃhitā' of the sixth century and the 'Matsya Purāṇa' which have doubtlessly Śikharas of the curvilinear type.

The Pāpanātha temple at Paṭṭadakal was built about 650 A. D. Here the curvilinear Śikhara is closely related to those of Aihole (Fig. d) and Mahākūṭeśvar and appears to represent a more fully evolved type: the central buttress having its compositional theme perfected in a continuous pattern which forcibly sets it off against the lateral parts of the Śikhara. This is not so clearly evident on any of the other temples referred to and may indicate that they represent an earlier phase of the curvilinear Śikhara.

The importance of the site of Mahākūṭeśvar is supplemented by the early temples of Aihole, Bādāmi and Paṭṭadakal, all closely related historically, being the three successive capitals of the early Cālukya dynasty. In this small triangle of the Kanarese country from the fifth to the seventh century and later, the many shapes which were to remain the essential constituents of the superstructure of a Hindu temple to this day appear assembled and variously combined.

The following constitute the main contributions to the formation of the superstructure:

I. The principle of stratification in receding tiers. It has two main

1. The date corresponding to 601 A. D. is given in an inscription at Mahākūṭeśvara, H. Cousens, 'The Chālukyan Architecture', op. cit., p. 52. The temple of Makūṭeśvara with its rectilinear superstructure consisting of storeys is thereby definitely dated.

2. Cousens, op. cit., Pl. XXVI.

Re. the Pāpanātha Temple, see ib., p. 68, Pl. L.

branches, the one (IA) having a flat or sloped roof, its cornice or eaves, for its unit, and the other (IB) having a complete storey for its unit.

II. The shape of the 'Tabernacle', the primeval sacred structure made of bended bamboos, branches, etc. It gives its curvilinear outline to the Śikhara. In its earliest appearance in preserved temples,¹ the horizontal courses of mouldings (IA), are embodied in its curved surfaces (Fig. d).

It is seen thus that type I in its form IA, is also merged in type II, whereas type IB exists by itself throughout South India.

In type IB, the following are the main contributors :

(1) the central 'cube' in reality a low prism, of the walls, repeated in each storey ; 2) the High Temple or miniature Vimāna, the neck and crown of the pyramid, 3) the enclosure or rampart of small shrines or chapels surrounding the central walls and in some of the earlier South Indian temples sufficiently distant to allow for an air space between the central walls and the rampart of chapels (Figs. f-g).

Type II has an Āmalaka for the crown of its high trunk. It is a flattened shape, a cogged stone of which the circular horizontal sections are scalloped or lentil like, etc. The scallops are generally convex and rarely concave. Every curvilinear Śikhara on a square or circular base has an Āmalaka as its crown. The Āmalaka, however, crowns also type IA² (Figs. a, c) ; its place, furthermore, is also at the corners of ■ Bhūmi or 'storey' of type IB1, and at each unit of several strata, of type II (Figs. b; d). Whereas a 'storey' or Bhūmi of the type IB roughly corresponds, on a reduced scale to a storey in the usual sense and consisting here of the wall with its pillars, architrave (IB1), and, in South Indian temples, a roll cornice, the latter representing the edge of the roof, its eaves, a storey or Bhūmi in types IA and II consists of eaves and recesses alternating or combined in several courses.

The High Temple similarly is not confined to type I only. A certain

1. Fergusson, HIEA. I. p. 324, rightly remarked : "The style is complete and settled in all its parts. There was no hesitation then, nor has there been any since."

Type I is the subject of the present article ; re. type II, see 'The Hindu Temple' by St. Kramrisch ; Photographs by R. Burnier (in the press).

2. Liṅga pavilion at Mahākūṭeśvara, etc. Cf. also temples at Gop, Visavada, etc. in Kathiawar.

variety of the curvilinear Śikhara (II) rising from the rectangle of the temple walls is crowned by a High Temple.¹

Type IB and type II are the most widely represented forms of the superstructure. The curvilinear Śikhara (type II) is the general form of the superstructure—though not the only one—throughout Northern India as far south as the river Kistna. South of it, in the Drāviḍa country, it ceases altogether.

Type IB prevails in the Drāviḍa country and is well represented in the Kanarese districts of the Deccan. In earlier centuries, from the 5th to the 8th approximately, type II also was frequent in the Kanarese districts (Fig. d) but subsequently its occurrence is rare². Certain of its features were combined with type I and a new style was then evolved.

Some of the main components are common to types IA and II. Type IB shares with them many lesser particulars (Śukanāsā, and others) besides the main principle of their combination. Type IA occurs sporadically in different parts of India. This is also true of type IB where its component IB1 is found forming a sub-variety in which this type of superstructure consists of a superposition of wall prisms or sanctuaries only, in receding storeys.

The superstructure type IB (1-3) however, is a composite monument in which have been coalesced various forms of buildings and their combinations.

The curvilinear Śikhara, type II, is the most prolific; it is built over the largest part of India and is also a nucleus for innumerable variations of which the theme is always the shape of the Tabernacle. Formed originally from the curves of vegetation, similar in their meeting at a point to the curves of a germinating plant, it throws forth part-forms of itself, parts of its own intrinsic shape, alike a living plant. Its expanding, proliferating exuberance is, however, gathered and united in the point towards which its curves ascend.

1. This type has a rectangular and not a square plan. It is known as Khākharā; N. K. Bose, op. cit. Pl. preceding p. 49. 'Tānāsīvagurudevapaddhati', III. ch. XXIX. 107 (kākara-koṭṭhaka).

2. The temple of Gaṇapati at Hangal, Dharwar; Cousens, op. cit. Pl. LXXXVII.

Precursors and contributors of type I, on the other hand, are found also in Northern India, in the Panjab, in Bengal, etc.

The single point towards which are raised its curved sides, is also the aim of type IB in which have congregated several forms of buildings and planning. They have been absorbed by the discipline of its pyramidal shape. The evolution of this type is not by proliferation but by increasing coalescence.

In the various parts of India, in the course of roughly one millenium, many solutions were found and in part rejected. The main components of the superstructure have been indicated ; their places of origin in different traditions will now be traced. However wide apart these may lie, the superstructure, together with the Prāsāda, in its fully evolved form is one consistent monument. Seen from outside, the socle or base supports its perpendicular walls from which rises the superstructure and carries the crown of the temple, the High Temple or the Āmalaka, on which rests the finial. Superposition of several units and their coherence in one solid monument is once again the principle of the superstructure itself, in its composition along the vertical.

Structural forms of architecture such as the Tabernacle ; the dome, and also the wall cube or prism of the 'dolmen temple', its cornice and other roof forms and their eaves are as much integrated in the monument of the superstructure as are also originally non-structural and purely symbolical forms of architecture of which the Āmalaka is the foremost. The conjoining of these constituent parts, in various selections and their consolidation in well defined types have produced the multiform countenance of the superstructure.

TYPE I A : THE PYRAMIDAL SUPERSTRUCTURE FORMED OF SLABS

IA. 1 : THE STEPPED TRUNK OF THE PYRAMID

The superstructure is seen to enter the history of Indian architecture in one of its pristine modes in the water-pavilion at Mahākūṭeśvar (Fig. a). On a flat roof slab, supported by 4 corner-pillars only, another smaller slab is placed and above it in the centre is an Āmalaka. The slabs which thus cover the Liṅga pavilion in the tank called Viṣṇu-puṣkariṇī of Mahākūṭeśvar form the initial steps of the pyramid. With them is associated the Āmalaka. The Āmalaka here has the same appearance which distinguishes

it as part of the capitals of rock-cut pillars in western India of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. and as part of the shaft of Buddha-pillars carved in the reliefs of Amarāvati in South India.¹ Where however it is part of the shaft of the pillar the latter appears to pass through it and to be clasped by its coggled rim.² It is then a ring-stone, perforated. On all the pointed superstructures of the temples of India north of the Kistna, the Āmalaka is the support of the finial of the temple and is itself supported by the round shaft of the neck (grīvā, gala, kaṇṭha; see however also Fig. d. where the Āmalaka is missing) which seems to emerge from the shoulder course (skandha), the uppermost course of the trunk of the Śikhara. This presupposes a central shaft which having traversed the entire body of the Prāsāda would emerge above it, support, and be rivetted in, its crown, the Āmalaka. As a clasp and ring-stone, the Āmalaka would be a 'naturally perforated' stone alike in this respect to the 'svayamātrṇṇā', the naturally perforated 'bricks' in the centre of the Fire Altar. There, they had been placed in vertical succession, the third and last of them upon the centre of the completed fifth, or uppermost layer of the Agni.

The superstructure of superimposed and diminishing slabs of stone forming a stepped pyramid surmounted by an Āmalaka is a pristine type of the superstructure of the temple. In decreasing size slab upon slab, are placed on the roof of dolmen type shrines in south India and the Himālayas as well³. In its stratification is repeated the horizontal theme of the base, where the walls of the Garbhagṛha are raised on the Adhiṣṭhāna.

1A.3: THE STRAIGHT TRUNK WITH ROUND EDGED SLABS

The slabs, placed one on top of the other, have either straight, vertical edges or the edges are moulded in the shape of a roll cornice or eaves.

1. Coomaraswamy, HIA, Fig. 186; 'Elements of Buddhist Iconography', Pl. I. Figs. 2, 3.

2. The Āmalaka functions as a ring in a relief representation at Nāgarjunakopṣa (ASIAR. 1935-36, Pl. XXX. c-e). This Āmalaka ring is slipped over a composite symbol, which has the shape of a Makara on one side of the ring, and of a lion (siṃha) on the other.

3. Whitehead, 'The Village Gods of South India', Pl. IX; Liṅga shrines near Hardwar.

Nandi Maṇḍapas etc., in different parts of India, have frequently a stepped pyramid of slabs for their roofs, for example the pavilion of the Vaital Deul, Bhuvaneśvar, Orissa, or the Nandi Maṇḍapam of the Viśvanātha temple in Khajūrah; another in Ekteśvar, Bankura, Bengal; a representation of a corresponding temple shape on the Ashrafpur Bronze Caitya, Bengal, of the seventh century (S. K. Sarasvati, 'Temples of Bengal', JIBOA, Vol. II. pp. 130-40); pavilion of the Baijnath Temple, Kangra, 13th century, etc.

The lower slab of the Mahākūṭeśvar pavilion has a slightly rounded edge. Its curve is that of the eaves of a thatched roof in miniature. All the varieties of cornice mouldings of the horizontal courses of the superstructure have such eaves for their prototypes. It was in this shape that the steps of the pyramid of the super-structure of the Prāsāda were to be perfected and to enter into new alliances in the centuries; the more austere form of right angles had less elasticity.¹

Two different building traditions contributed to the pyramidal superstructure whose stratified courses have rounded edges. The underlying shape belongs to stone prototypes. Slabs in diminishing size are placed on the flat roof slab of the dolmen type. Their added weight keeps the roof in position. It cannot be moved; the supernatural presence enshrined should by no means escape.² The slabs, being placed on top of the walls and on the flat roof, became assimilated to roof forms. They were given the shape of the curvilinear eaves of the thatch; cornice mouldings of great antiquity and derived from its curves³ were adapted to the relatively narrow slabs and formed their edges (Fig. c). They softened the hard contour of the original stepped pyramid. A seemingly unbroken outline results of the pyramidal trunk of the superstructure.

The approximation of the horizontal courses of the superstructure to a particular roof form once having been achieved further varieties were adopted; in each particular instance however one kind only is chosen as the theme and repeated in the several tiers of the superstructure. While the roll cornice moulding gained widest currency in the earlier temples, eaves with a double flexed curve subsequently became used in the same way.⁴

1. Temples No. 10 (Fig. b) and also No. 7, Aihole (Cousens, op. cit. Pls. XIX, XXI), combine the slab-type (I A) with the storeyed superstructure (I B).

2. A similar explanation is given to this day at Bodh-gayā in reply to the question why the tombs of the Mahants near the temple, are in the shape of stepped pyramids of considerable size.

3. The Kapota or roll cornice is frequently carved on the facades of rock cut Caitya halls, for instance at Karle. Its outline is that of a quarter circle approximately. (P. Brown, 'Indian Architecture', Pl. XIX, Fig. 2). This cornice, in structural buildings of stone, serves as a dripstone.

4. This is an extreme possibility to which the shape of the roll cornice lends itself, being an accentuation and protraction of its lower edge which is halted by a fillet. This particular shape of the eaves appears to have been completely evolved in stone architecture and not in the thatched prototype, although in an initial stage the double flexed curve belongs already to the dome of the Fire chapel in Sāñel. It occurs for instance in the 'Old Jaina temple' at Paṭṭadakal (Cousens, 'The Chālukyan Architecture', Pl. LIV, above the door of shrine and Maṇḍapa, but not in the earlier Cālukyan temples, Virūpākṣa Temple at Paṭṭadakal, Pl. XL; Malegitti Śivūlaya, Bādāmi, Pl. XXIX). As can be seen in these buildings the end of the overhanging

Their edge is frequently flattened out into a fillet and preserves the memory of the edge of the horizontal stone slab.¹

With the introduction of the curve of the eave of the thatch into the straight edge of the horizontal components of the superstructure, gaps enter their layers and alternate with the variegated profiles of the horizontal mouldings. These gaps are given different height and depth in the single superstructures; as a rule they are deep and narrow and their effect is that of dark bands of shade which cut into the mass of the superstructure without breaking its continuity. Seen across the corners, air and space have entered its solid pile, alleviate it and enrich its slanting and curved profiles with shades, delicate or strong.²

The superstructure develops with the logic of form destined for one purpose. Into this monumental shape, roof forms spontaneously enter; eaves and slopes are adjusted to the levels of the massive pile. Although a fully developed superstructure of the highest kind has not more than 16 Bhūmis,³ each of these may contain a number of roof-edge mouldings, six for example, the number remaining the same in all the Bhūmis, so that ninety-six similar horizontal profiles enliven its courses. With such a number of superimposed roofs no actual building ever rose. Double and triple roofs are frequent in actual buildings; Vāstu-śāstra knows of their employment as Dvichādyā, etc. ('Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra', XLIX, etc.).⁴ The

thatch when translated into stone looked abrupt; its form subsequently was softened, the one steep and heavy curve was given a gradual descent and its downward slope became upheld and balanced by a counter-movement. This shape, moreover, was evolved simultaneously as a profile of the base of the temple, and is known in Vāstu-śāstra as Padma or 'lotus petal'. The roll cornice or Kapota retains its name in the various phases of transformation and it also becomes one of the profiles of the base; see Pl. II, 'Essay on the Architecture of the Hindus' by Ram Rao, London, 1894.

1. Aihole, Temples 37 and 38; Cousens, op. cit. Pl. XXV; the superstructure of the Piṭhā Deul, i. e. the Maṇḍapa, of Orissan temples, from about the tenth century.

2. The 'Old Temple' at Visavada, Kathiawar (see note 3, p. 185) is one of the most elegant solutions of this kind. Together with the slope of the roof, dormer windows (gavākṣa) have become part of each stratum of the superstructure. The association of the superimposed slabs of stone and the roofs of houses is now complete.

3. i. e. the type 'Meru' according to the 'Br. Saṃhitā', etc. The Bhūmi, originally of one horizontal unit only, soon consists of two or three mouldings. The third course is carved in the likeness of an Āmalaka in its corners, and designates the sum of the three courses as one complete sub-Śikhara, or one Bhūmi (Temple IX, Aihole, Fig. d). The Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvar has 6 strata in each Bhūmi.

4. A Dvichādyā building is for example the Maṇḍapam of the Paraśurāmeśvar temple, Bhuvaneśvar; or that of the Uttaraśvar temple, both dating from the 6th century; also Temple No. 11, Aihole (Cousens, op. cit. Pl. XXIII) and other buildings in Aihole.

house of God is other than the houses of men, their roofs are but mouldings and lines of its superstructure and designate its levels.

The pyramidal superstructure of diminishing horizontal slabs whose edges assumed the curves of different roof shapes is widely distributed in India, although not many temples with this kind of superstructure of the *Prāsāda* now exist.¹ The carved pattern formed by its layers of mouldings alternating with dark bands of shadow, was to be cast also on Type II of the superstructure, the *Śikhara* with curvilinear sides.

The pyramidal superstructure composed of narrow horizontal tiers,

1. The pyramidal superstructures of the temples at Visavada, Bilśvara and Sūtrapada, in Kathiawar, are so constituted (Census, 'Somanātha and other Temples', Pls. XLIII-IV).

This type of the superstructure is represented not only on a relief of Gupta age, at Sārṇāth (Fig. c.) but also for example, on a lintel at Khajuraho, of the tenth century (B. L. Dhamo, 'A Guide to Khajuraho', Pl. XI. b). The transformation of the *Āmalaka* and of the *Gavākṣa* in these two relief representations dates them as unmistakably as the change from the still full curve of the single 'roofs' in the earlier examples and their stretched, attenuated version in the later type. The pyramidal superstructure composed of tiers and crowned by an *Āmalaka* is frequently carved on relief slabs and on lintels, pillars door-jambs, etc. of temples. Small shrines or chapels housing the image of a god are thus represented in relief in Nālandā (Facade of main shrine, Caitya site 12, ASIAR, 1900-34, Pl. LXVII d), in Bengal (in Pāla paintings) or in Central India (Udayapur) etc. They must have had their structural prototypes in Bengal, Bihar, the United and the Central Provinces throughout half a millennium and more.

The *Piṭhā* Deul or Bhadrā 'temple', i. e. Maṇḍapas or also the gateways of Orissan temples are the most widely employed buildings with this type of superstructure. It appears to have suffered a degradation in Orissa, its place being, as a rule, the Maṇḍapa or other auxiliary building of the temple, but not the *Prāsāda* itself. The name which denotes the horizontal courses of this superstructure is *Piṭhā*, a 'flat wooden seat' (N. K. Bose, op. cit., p. 185).

The "Bhāskareśvar" temple in Bhuvaneśvar (M. M. Ganguli, 'Orissa and her Remains', Pl. XV. a) is an exception for its *Prāsāda* is a *Piṭhā* Deul, though the outline of the *Śikhara* is curvilinear. This temple represents one of the 'transition' types from the straight to the curvilinear shape of which the Mahendragiri temples of the 10th century are earlier and somewhat different examples in Ganjam (ASIAR, 'Southern Circle Report' 1915-16, Pl. XI, p. 35.). The "Bhāskareśvar" temple in its present form belongs to a late phase amongst the temples of Orissa.

The *Prāsāda* of certain temples in Mayurbhañj State built after the 16th century has a superstructure of the *Piṭhā* type ('Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhañj', Vol. I, pp. 56; 64).

Not only in Kathiawar, Mayurbhañj, Orissa, Ganjam, etc. does the pyramidal superstructure rise above the Garbhagrha proper of temples still in existence, but also in the Marathwada Districts of the Deccan and in the adjacent country. They have been taken to represent the "Kadamba Style" (Morse, 'The Kadamba Kula', Part VII); temples of this kind are also in Aliboli (Census, 'The Chālukyan Architecture' Pl. XXV; temples of Galagnāth and Noa. 37 and 38), Vijayanagar, etc; their pyramidal shape however is often deflected into a curvilinear outline (Gravelly-Rameschandra, 'The Three Main Styles of Temple Architecture', Pl. I. Fig. 2, from Dharwar).

originally various types of roof edges, cornices or eaves, has several further varieties.¹

Type I B : THE PYRAMIDAL SUPERSTRUCTURE COMPOSED OF STOREYS (BHŪMI)

I B. 1 : THE STEPPED TRUNK OF THE PYRAMID FORMED OF SINGLE STOREYS

The other main variety of the pyramidal superstructure is divided into broad horizontal parts each of which represents a storey of a building. This superstructure is a counterfeit of an edifice ; it is set as a whole on top of the vertical walls of the Prāsāda. Two varieties of this type are specially clear. The one (I B. 1) is represented by few preserved temples only like those of Bodh-gayā or at Sārnāth² ; there gradually receding storeys have each a row of niches in relatively low relief against their compact walls. The other architectural features, Gavākṣas, etc. of this high superstructure are also carved in low relief and alternate in parallel courses with the rows of niches (cf. Fig. b).

The storeys recede imperceptibly ; an Āmalaka moreover, is placed on each corner of each tier-like storey. The composition of this high pyramidal mansion if visualized without any of its sculptural details, without the corner Āmalakas especially and by giving to its abbreviated storeys proportionately greater height, would resemble the stepped pyramid of the Sat Mahal Pāsāda in Polonnaruva, Ceylon, of the 12th Century. No such type is preserved in India itself. The stepped pyramid here, as also in type I A, appears to have been less frequently employed than the pyramid with a seemingly unbroken edge. The latter type however is based on the stepped pyramid and this fact is never

1. The pent-roof of laminated boards for instance, lends its slope to the superstructure of the temple at Gop. of Gupta age, in Kathiawar, and to the temples of Kashmir (Temples at Pandrethan, Payar, etc; 8th century).

2. JISOA, VI. Pl. XXIV ; Pl. XXIII shows 'A Miniature Replica of the Mahābodhi Temple' (pp. 78 f. in an article by B. Rowland Jr.).

The conjectural restoration in the drawings on Pls. XXXI and XXXII of P. Brown's 'Indian Architecture' conveys roughly the disposition of the storeys. On a smaller scale, and combined with alternating and projecting tiers of the slab roof profile, are Temples 7 and 10 in Aihole. The crowning part of these temples might have been an Āmalaka ; as such it appears in the restoration of the Bodh-gayā temple ; corner Āmalakas support the shoulder course of temple No. 10, Aihole (Fig. b).

In this superstructure the narrow courses with their cornices represent flat roofs above the broader courses representing a storey each whose walls have niches.

completely disguised. This variety of the pyramidal superstructure (I B. 1), shares with the more complex variety (I B. 1-3) the nucleus only, the superimposed wall-prisms in receding storeys.¹ Carved with many niches and pilasters on each of the four sides it is an effigy of a storeyed mansion, placed on top of another large building with straight walls.

The pyramidal superstructure with closely set receding tiers (I A) had its beginning in the strata of diminishing superimposed slabs. The pyramidal superstructure with receding storeys on the other hand has its beginning in the superposition of a complete storey of the type described (Fig. b) or of a much simpler type consisting of a cell only on top of another building with upright walls and having one floor only. This can be seen in the cell put perpendicularly on the flat roof of the Gupta temple dedicated to Pārvatī in Nachna Kuthara, and also in the Kuraja Bir Temple near Jhansi which is of later date; similarly also the small shrine of Sūrya, is placed on top of the temple known as Lad Khan in Aihole. These flat roofed cells, remotely of dolmen type, are actual sanctuaries with an interior space; they have not yet consolidated into the exterior only of a compact monument. The principle, however, of piling one complete building, however simple, on top of another remains the same, in the artless combinations and in the compounded solidity of the storeyed, pyramidal superstructure.

The Sat Mahal Pāsāda in Polonnaruva, Ceylon, is an authorised translation from stone into brick and an enlarged version of the dolmen type raised to the sixth storey on a stepped pyramid composed of similar shapes.

I B. 2: THE "HIGH TEMPLE" (KṢUDRA-ALPA-VIMĀNA)

Differing from such consolidated mansions are the superstructures of the temples in the Kanarese districts² and throughout that part of

1. The crown of the superstructure seems to have had the shape of the Āmalaka and in this respect it resembles type IA. Intermediate types, like Temples 10, etc. at Aihole (Fig. b) show the drawing from one and the same reservoir of types. Āmalakas occupy the corners, if not of each storey then at least of the highest layer below the top slab. The Āmalaka, broad and flat in shape, on a high neck is shown also on the high pyramidal trunk of the shrines represented on clay *amāla* from Nālandā, of about 1,000 A. D. (Gurudas Sarker, 'Notes on the History of the Śikhara Temple', Figs. 12, 14, 'Rūpaṃ' vol. III).

2. As far as preserved monuments go, these date from an earlier age than the structural and also the rock cut temples of South India; the Mahākūṭeśvara Temple which was in existence before 601, was

South India generally known as Drāviḍa. There in the large temples (jāti vimāna; mukhya vimāna), an entire mansion of pyramidal appearance is placed on the vertical walls of the Garbhagrha (IB. 1). Each storey of this pyramid however consists of the one central building plus a series of small buildings surrounding the walls of the central building (IB. 3, see p. 197). The small one-storeyed buildings, alligned in a row serve as a kind of parapet at a given distance from the walls of the main building with its pilasters and niches. The small cottages, cells or chapels which are linked so as to form an enclosure wall or parapet of each single storey alternate in shape; they are square and capped by a dome or rectangular in plan and waggon vaulted; the former type, called Kūṭa, is invariably placed at the corners of the respective floor (bhūmi); its top has the appearance of a dome in four or eight sections (Figs. f, g) or it may be circular.

The small High Temple above the shoulder course (skandha) in which the superstructure culminates (I B. 2) is reminiscent of the simple shrines represented in the reliefs of Barhut and Sāñci. Placed on top of the trunk of the pyramid, the walls of this High Temple form here the neck (grīvā) of the crowning dome, the 'Śikhara'.¹ The 'walls' of this ultimate temple are alike in their position and function to the shaft (grīvā) by which is upheld the Āmalaka above the curvilinear Śikhara. Here too, in the pyramidal superstructure of superimposed Bhūmis the shaft, be it round, square or octagonal, appears as if emerging from the Prāsāda, as if it were stuck across it from the base to the crown. This visible part of the shaft in which is sheathed the vertical axis of the temple is formed here by the walls of the domed shrine.

probably built in the third quarter of the sixth century; more ancient than the well preserved temples are the ruined Kṛṣṇa Gudi temple, and three others near it, in Alhola. In South India, the rock out temples at Mamallapuram are of the mid-seventh century and the earliest of the preserved structural śaiva temples were built subsequently, from the end of the seventh century onwards.

1. The meaning of the dome is given by Coomaraswamy, 'Symbolism of the Dome', 'Indian Historical Quarterly', vol. XIV.

The piling of one shape of temple upon the other as its superstructure is the subject of chapter LV of the 'Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra'. The superimposed temples may be square in plan or circular, etc., their vertical sections also are different and each type has its name, such as Rucaka, etc. "Rucaka or Vardhamāna or Śrīvatsa or Haṇṣa, whichever one may like among them, one should set up that on Garuḍa" (SS. LV. 79).

If the flat roofed cell was the simplest type of a building which had been piled along the vertical axis, and with its flat roof lending itself to repeated superimpositions, the small 'High Temple' or *Vimāna* with its dome is another type of building or temple which was raised on top of a flat roofed building.¹ A domed shrine, the prototype of the 'High Temple' of the South Indian temples is for example the *Nāga* or Fire chapel represented in one of the reliefs at *Sāñci* (1st Century B. C.; Central India); aggrandised and consolidated in its architectural form is the rock-cut *Draupadī Ratha* at *Mamallapuram* (seventh century A. D., South India); with its curvilinear roof in four sections it represents a model of this type of one storeyed temple. It appears in relief representations—raised as a whole and placed on top of another prismatic flat-roofed sanctuary—and also in extant temples of *Pallava* and *Cola* age, in South India, such as the temple at *Enadi* (Fig. e)². It exemplifies the "Small" South Indian temple (*alpa-Prāsāda*) and is without the rampart of chapels. The actual date of these developments is not ascertainable from the above examples. About half a century earlier than the *Pallava* representations, the culminating chapel, with its dome, crowns some of the fully preserved temples of the *Kanarese* country; there it is not raised to the second storey only but to the third, fourth or fifth.³ In these temples too, another component, the rampart of chapels (I B. 3), has been incorporated whose origin is still discernible in South Indian temples of the *Pallava* age and is dealt with below.

The origins of the consolidated varieties of the superstructure are manifold, the dates of their entry and participation in its body are not

1. A small High temple is raised not on a pyramidal superstructure, but on a pyramidal substructure consisting of terraces, in *Ahichatra*. The single terraces have each a rampart; there are however no chapels and the open air ambulatory is between the central part or block of masonry on each terrace and the rampart of that terrace.

2. *Pallava* relief in *Undavalli*; A. H. Longhurst, 'Pallava Architecture', *Mem. A. S. I.* No. 17. Pl. XIII; in *Mamallapuram*, in the *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* relief; Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, Fig. 196; further elaborated temples, of this kind are carved in relief in the gable ends of the *Bhīma* and *Sabadeva Rathas* in *Mamallapuram*. Śiva temple at *Enadi*; 'Cola Temples in *Pudukottai*' by Venkataranga Raju, *JISOA*, vol. V. Pl. XI.

3. *Mahākūṭeśvara*, 6th century; *Malagetti Śivālaya*, *Bādāmi*, 6th century; Temple of *Śhgameśvara*, at *Pattadakal*, 696-733 A. D.; half a century later, the *Virūpākṣa* Temple, and others at *Pattadakal*, Cousens, *op. cit.* Earlier temples than these, though destroyed in the upper part, are in *Aihole*.

known. Their sequence must be reconstructed although architectural solutions which must have preceded derivatory forms are not infrequently preserved in actual buildings some centuries younger than the diverse and derivatory applications. This is only partly due to accidents of preservation, but is itself a 'symptom of the course of history in India. The original theme remains, either in its pristine or else in its highly evolved form; development is here tantamount to exposition. A form giving the fullest exposition to the meaning it conveys may be contemporary with the nucleus of its meaning represented in elemental terms (Cola temple at Enadi, Fig. e) on the hand, and at Tanjore (Fig. h) on the other or else is even outlived by the original, elemental form (for instance the fully evolved temples of the type of the Saṅgameśvara at Paṭṭadakal, Bijapur District, of the early eighth century; and the above mentioned tenth century temple at Enadi in Pudukottai).

This happens irrespective of schools or regional developments as instanced by the above examples. Every age, every province, every school and architect give their knowledge to the task of building the Hindu temple; the forms and their connections in which its meaning is inherent remain pregnant with it all the time; and some of them remain unchanged. The flat roofed, one storied Patānī Devī temple at Unchahara (C. P.) in central India, for example, had one monolith for its roof slab. Its actual date is about the year 1000 A. D., its form that of the 'flat roofed Gupta temples'; the construction of its roof is megalithic. But so is also that of the top of the many storeyed superstructure of the Great Temple at Tanjore, about 1000 A. D. (Fig. h). It is a single block of granite, 25 feet square.¹

1. J. M. Somasundaram, 'The Great Temple at Tanjore', p. 9. The author rightly calls the octagonal cupolic dome a Śikhara. The 'Tīrānāṣṭvagarudevapaddhati', in Part III. ch. XXVIII. 84-89, moreover defines the Kūṭa, Koṭṭha and Pañjara.—these are the single miniature replicas of buildings, shrines or chapels, set along the edge of each of the 'storeys' of the South Indian temples—and discusses the shapes of their roofs (śikhara) which are vaulted or domed.

K. R. Pisbaroti, 'Śikhara', 'The Annamalai University Journal', vol. V. No. 2, treats of the Śikhara, i. e. the superstructure of the Garbhagṛha; it may be called the 'head' of the Vimāna or Prāsāda; this is substantiated in Vāstu-śāstra which knows the temple as the concrete form and body of the Puroṣa.

The Śikhara supports the Śikhā, the finial above the Āmalaka or above the miniature 'High Temple', the 'kṣudra-alpa-Vimāna'.

I B. 3: THE ENCLOSURE OF CHAPELS

Different from such unchanged survivals in the body of temples themselves representative of different stages of evolution are certain other forms one of which, the rampart of chapels (I B. 3), is of the greatest interest. The rampart or wall made of single shrines or cells, even in the earliest preserved temples of Aihole, is a compact and diminished replica of its structural form (Kont Gudi Temple); it has become by the seventh Century the general pattern of the parapet on a flat roof (Pāpanāth Temple, Paṭṭadakal; and contemporary rock cut representations in South India); its compact, contracted and abbreviated version points back to a distant past, when every single shrine in such an alignment had played its part in the total sanctuary or sacred precinct, enclosed by and consisting of contiguous chapels. Certain Pallava temples though of later date (700 A. D.) represent an earlier stage in the history, nearer to the original function, of the enclosure made of chapels.

In a fully evolved South Indian temple or Jāti Vimāna of about 1000 A. D. the high pyramid of the Bhūmis of the superstructure rests upon upright walls in which is encased the Garbhagṛha. They are frequently given the appearance of two stories, one perpendicularly above the other as in a vast building with many niches (ghanadvāra), flanked by pilasters in each storey and a heavy cornice moulding, the eaves above each (Fig. h.). Both these storeys occupy the same floor space and together they form the perpendicular walls on which is placed the pyramidal superstructure. The storeys of the pyramidal superstructure are comparatively on a miniature scale but they too have their niches and pilasters. In front of them, however, on each floor on all the four sides, is a series of small chapels or cells, oblong or square, and vaulted or domed, correspondingly (Figs. f-h). These chapels are called Kūṭa and Koṣṭha, etc.; placed close to the cornice of each storey they fill the gap between the receding tiers and give the outline of the superstructure the appearance of leading straight and unbroken from its base to its shoulder course.

Śikhā is the skein of hair on the crown of the head, where lies the Brahmarandhra, the threshold of Brahman. It is there that the last immanent breath leaves the body at the time of death. The 'Bṛhadāraṇyaka Mahātmya', XV (Somerset, op. cit. p. 40), tells of the Brahmarandhra of the Great Temple at Tanjore which was closed by the huge monolith.

If an original building is imagined of which every single storey forms a large square hall (cf. I B. 1) and not a humble cell, and which, moreover, is surrounded by a number of closely set small buildings, all in a row and at a given distance from the main hall (Fig. f) this would be the prototype of each single storey of the pyramidal superstructure prevalent in the larger temples of the Drāviḍa and Kanarese countries. Little if anything has been preserved of earlier structures thus laid out except descriptions by Fa Hian and by Hiuen Tsiang of Buddhist monasteries, with their five storeys.¹

Other Buddhist monasteries built of stone, consist solely of a row of cells forming a quadrangle; Buddhist sanctuaries made up similarly of a row of variously shaped chapels surrounding a Stūpa as the main sacred object in the court formed of chapels, have been preserved in Gandhāra, at Takht-i-Bahai, and also in Jamalgarhi where the court is circular. Cut into the rock, the Buddhist monasteries in India show an alignment of single cells without architectural pretensions, along the sides of a square hall. This is the general arrangement of rock-cut Buddhist monasteries, from about the second century A. D. onwards.

The plan of the rock-cut Buddhist monasteries in Ajanṭā, Nasik, etc., does not differ in principle from the stone built Buddhist monasteries in Gandhāra. These again conform, as in the Takht-i-Bahai establishment, with the sanctuary, 'the court of the Stūpa', with only that difference that there the single cells house images and that in the court is the main object of worship. Was it the organisation of monastic life which found a suitable type of dwelling and set up its sanctuaries in a similar manner? Or did the Buddhists adjust to their mode of worship and monastic life a form of religious architecture already in existence? The Gandhāra example represents an open air architecture; a row of cells surrounds a court; their alignment is at the same time its enclosing wall. A monument may be set up in the middle of the court, or not. This open air architecture is not suitable for the cold winters in Gandhāra and has not been evolved there either. The rock cut monasteries in India itself, with their

1. Hiuen Tsiang, quoted by Fergusson, *HIEA*, vol. I p. 171, the building having 500, 400, 300, 200 and 100 cells in the successive storeys respectively.

The name for Buddhist monastery is Vihāra; Vihāra originally denotes sacred ground and seems to have been used in this sense, the cells marking its enclosure or limits.

central hall are identical in plan ; retranslated into structural terms and set up in the open they would have consisted of a row of cells surrounding a central court.¹ The Buddhists generally adjusted for their own purposes types of architecture already in existence.

Though not preserved from an early age, the open-air or hypaethral temples² in existence consist for example of a row of single cells, each housing an image of one of the 64 Yoginīs ; the cells surround an open court, which is either empty or has its centre marked by a small pavilion.

None of the preserved Cauṣṭh Yoginī temples is earlier than the ninth century A. D. ; the one in Khajuraho in Central India encloses a rectangular court, whereas at Bheraghat, the hypaethral Cauṣṭh Yoginī temple with its 81 chapels providing also for the images of subsidiary divinities and also the Cauṣṭh Yoginī Temple at Rānipur Jhoriā, in Patna State, forms a circular enclosure. In its centre is a small Chatra or pavilion on four pillars ; an image of Śiva is enshrined in it ; the images of the Yoginīs, each in its chapel or cell of the enclosure, face towards it.³

Another variety of the hypaethral temple belongs to Bengal. Two groups of 108 Śiva temples were built by the Burdwan Rāj about 150 years ago, one at Kalna, Burdwan, the other in Burdwan itself. The 108 chapels form the boundary of an enclosure, circular at Kalna and rectangular in Burdwan. They are built in the usual Bengal style. The doors open into the court which has no other structure built within.⁴ Similar temples are also in Calcutta ; they represent an ancient and perennial type of sacred architecture.⁵

1. The slow evolution of the rock-cut monastery from a hall without cells immediately attached to it, to a hall with a few irregular cells attached to it, to a hall with a few irregular cells opening into it on one side or the other, and to the final result described above does not go against the above assumption. The excavation of sanctuaries and solitary retreats preceded establishments of rock-cut monasteries on a large scale.—The stūpa of Takht-i-Bahā is not in the centre of the court, but lies on its N-S axis (ASIAR. 1907—8, Pl. L).

2. "The village shrine in its most primitive type is always hypaethral or open to the sky", W. Crooke, 'Religion and Folklore in Northern India', p. 89.

3. B. L. Dhama, 'A Guide to Khajuraho', p. 8 ; R. D. Banerji, 'The Haihayas of Tripura', Mem. ASI. ; ASR, vols. XII. p. 128 ; XVII. p. 64.

4. I am indebted for this information to Dr. Jitendranath Banerjee.

5. Other hypaethral temples although without chapels as for example the Trimurti Kōvil, Annamalai Hills, Kolmbatūr, with its circle of images facing inward, are backed by a low wall (Sir Walter Elliot, in 'Indian Antiquary' VII. p. 127.) The sacredness of an enclosed courtyard, open to the sky and containing images is also familiar to the Jains in their 'Bette'. Such enclosed courts with their images are cognate with the several enclosures (prākāra) and their images which surround South Indian temples (cf. 'Vaiṣṇavagama').

This type of open air temple appears to be the basic form of the Court of the Stūpa, at Takht-i-Bahai. But it is also preserved in the surrounding wall of cells of some of the great temples set up by the Pallavas in South India : the Shore Temple at Mamallapuram (Fig. g) and the Vaikunṭha Perumal Temple at Conjeevaram. They date from about 700 A. D., the Vaikunṭha Perumal Temple being the youngest (710 A. D.). Each of these large temples with its accessory buildings is surrounded by a wall of chapels.¹ Apart from this enclosure of the whole precinct, another corresponding row of chapels surrounds the Prāsāda itself. In the Shore Temple it has the form of a wall of cells separated from the body of the temple by an open air passage (Fig. g). In the Kailāsanātha Temple however, another great structural temple of about 700 A. D., at Conjeevaram, the single chapels of the enclosure, are attached to the walls of the Prāsāda from which they are seen to project,—also in the rock-cut Kailāsanātha Temple in Elura—, whereas in the Vaikunṭha Perumal Temple they are altogether embodied in the temple of which they form the outermost but covered ambulatory.

These various solutions are stages in a process of drawing towards the Prāsāda the enclosure wall of the chapels and incorporating it. Nearest amongst south Indian temples to the original open-air type is the Shore Temple. The Prāsāda occupies the place of the Stūpa as in Takht-i-Bahai or of the central Śiva image in its pavilion, as in Rānipur Jhorial.

The Garbhagṛha ensconced in these temples does not cover more floor space than a pavilion, but it was the purpose of the Prāsāda to be large and to reach to the clouds. The Garbhagṛha by its nature is, and at all times remains, the small secret chamber. By the same desire its secretedness became enhanced in the great temples and the floor space of the Prāsāda became enlarged by covering the circumambulatory. According to Vāstu-śāstra, the temples covering a large floor space are Sāndhara, which means they have an internal circumambulatory so that the Garbhagṛha has its walls encased in a second series of walls ; this is the rule². Above

1. They face the temple and, as in the Vaikunṭha Perumal Temple, form one continuous, pillared cloister ; on the outside however, the wall is shaped in the likeness of a row formed of single cells, complete with their roofs.

2. Various examples of the internal circumambulatory date from the Gupta period ; the temple at Gop, the Śiva temple at Bhumara, the Pārvatī temple at Nachna Kuthara ; cf. also the 'Bṛhat-Saṃhitā' and other texts.

the broader base thus gained for the vertical walls, the superstructure arises in its full volume. So there is the small sanctuary encased in its walls and having an inner enclosed circumambulatory or two even and, as in the Shore temple and the Vaikuṇṭha Perumal an outer one, in addition in the open. Further, there is the enclosing wall composed of cells of the entire temple precinct. The rites of circumambulation and the rite of 'enclosing' the more than human presence have their architectural equivalent in the walls of the circumambulatory; to enclose the presence, and also the path around it, not only on the sides but also to cover its top, is logical for the central sanctuary, the Garbhagṛha itself, in principle, is closed on top like a dolmen.

While the Drāviḍa temples incorporate the theme of the hypaethral temple, the enclosure formed of chapels, in the body itself of the Prāsāda, the enclosure of cells around the main temple, belongs to some of the great shrines in distant parts of India, such as the Virūpākṣa temple in Paṭṭadakal, or the Navalīṅga temple at Kukkanur (Gadag)¹, in the Kanarese country, the Keśava temple at Somanāthapur in Mysore², and, in Kashmir, the Sun temple of Mārtāṇḍ and the Avantisvāmi temple at Avantipur³. Amongst Jain temples that of Vimala Shah, A. D. 1031, on Mt Abu, the Nemināth Temple at Girnar, Kathiawar, or the Chaumukh Temple at Ranpur⁴, Jodhpur, built by Sūtradhāra Dēpaka in 1440 A. D. are cloistered by a range of cells, each a shrine with an image.

On the Malabar coast, a pillared cloister, the Nālabalam or Cuttambalam, a wooden structure, encloses the several buildings of which the temple consists.⁵

The hypaethral temple survived also in another shape. Instead of a

The Vaikuṇṭha Perumal Temple at Conjesvaram has two internal circumambulatories (Bhramantī or Remaṇī, Andhakarikā, Andharikā or Pradakṣiṇā; 'Samantūṅgasūtradhāra', LVII. 114. 548, etc.) on the ground floor.

1. Cousens, 'The Chālukyan Architecture', Pl. LII. The Navalīṅga temple is about three centuries younger than the Virūpākṣa temple.

2. P. Brown, op. cit. Pl. CVII. The date of the temple is 1268 A. D.

3. These temples were built in the eighth and ninth centuries A. D.

4. ASIAR. 1907-8, Pl. LXXX.

5. The temple of Thirunandikkara, of the 13th century. The temple of Valikom, dated 1594 A. D., both in Travancore.

contiguous range of chapels a number of separate temples may form an enclosure around a central shrine.¹

In the 'South Indian' temples however of the Kanarese districts in the Deccan, and in the Drāviḍa country, the full range of the cloister built of chapels becomes incorporated in the body itself of the Prāsāda.

The integration of the enclosing walls only of the ambulatory in the body of the Prāsāda, however, is also an all Indian development. A temple having an internal Pradakṣiṇa is called Sāndhara. In South India however the enclosing wall had a greater tenacity than elsewhere in the country, on account of the importance with which it was vested. The principle of 'enclosing' is as strongly in force in the Vāstu-maṇḍala of the type Sthaṇḍila or Padmagarbha with its several rigid zones, as it is in the structural Prākāras or Āvaraṇas, the high walls which enclose a South Indian temple.

The enclosure, be it a wall only or a contiguous series of cells, is an essential part of the South Indian temple in its fully evolved form. Its delimiting function makes the sacred precinct a 'temple' and keeps alive the meaning of the Sakala plan in a Vāstumāṇḍala of many divisions. These are observed in South India in their concentric rigour. They are allotted to Brahmā in the centre, to the gods in the immediately surrounding zone, to men in a further zone and to the demons in the outermost rim. Conforming in principle with this triple enclosure, are the seven enclosures of which the full iconography is given in the 'Vaikhānasāgama', etc. The temple of Śrīraṅgam has indeed seven enclosures and if all the 'āvaraṇa devatās' are not to be found therein, they are magically assigned to them by the priest. While other South Indian temples

1. Eight such subordinate temples surround the central temple in Sirpur, the four in the cardinal directions being larger than the rest (ASI, vol. VII. p. 175 f.); a composition of eight temples was the original form of the Śiva temple on Melamalai, Narttamalai, Pudukkotta, of the ninth century, and of the Nilkantheśvara temple at Udayapur (ASI. Ib. p. 89) etc. and of the Kotheshvara Temple at Pathari of the ninth century. The rock-cut temple at Damnar (Rajputana) belongs to this group.

Further reduced in the number of the shrines forming the enclosure is the composition of temples called Pañcayātana in which 4 separate shrines, each in a corner of the enclosure, surround the central shrine. This grouping is frequent in northern India and the Deccan; the following are some of the representative Pañcayātana temples. Three different groups of Pañcayātana temples (two of Hari-Hara, 8th-9th century, one of Śūrya of a later date) at Osian, Jodhpur, Rajputana; the Gondeśvara Temple, at Sinner (Nasik); at Khajuraho the temples of Viṣṇuāṭha and of Lakṣmī, the Brahmeśvar Temple in Bhuvaneśvar and at Mukhalliṅga, (Ganjam) the Mukhalliṅgeśvara Temple.

have a smaller number of Prākāras, the only Northern Indian temple in existence which has two enclosing walls is the temple of Jagannātha, in Puri; other Orissan shrines (Mukteśvar, Brahmeśvar in Bhuvaneśvar) have one surrounding wall and most of the North Indian temples are altogether without it; the walls of the main building themselves are its enclosure.

The surrounding wall however belongs particularly to Drāviḍa temples. Thus the enclosure made of chapels too, kept its independent open-air existence while it also came to function as an essential part in the large Pallava temples, the first structural temples built of stone, which were set up in the Drāviḍa country. Finally, it becomes an adornment of the superstructure of the Prāsāda.

This takes place not on one level only, but is repeated on the floors of the many-storeyed superstructure (Fig. f). In receding tiers, a wall of cells forms the continuous parapet above which emerge the walls of the Garbhagṛha of that floor;¹ these again carry the parapet of the floor above. An open air circumambulatory is thus provided for each respective floor; it is hidden from view by the parapet of cells (Fig. f; also Fig. g); this in addition to its ritual suggestiveness has monumental effectiveness for the recess of each upper storey, the step of the pyramid, is thus masked, the outline of the superstructure appears unbroken, and enriched by the bold three-dimensional discipline of the domed and vaulted chapel-shapes of its parapets or enclosures.

The introduction of the row of chapels on each floor (bhūmi) of the superstructure fulfils a similar purpose in this larger conception as did the introduction of the curved (IA. 2) eaves of the roof assimilated as they were to the slab type of the pyramidal superstructure (IA. 1), and also the Āmalaka placed at the corners of its Bhūmis (I B. 1).

Here, an entire type of planned architectural form is placed on top of its exactly similar but larger fundament, this procedure is repeated until the extent of the floor is reduced so that the accessory and surrounding buildings of the rampart can be accommodated no longer and only the

1. As in the Vaikunṭha Perumal temple. An actual Garbhagṛha however on each floor is not the rule; the structure of the South Indian temple as a rule has the appearance of a massive monument; its interior, as a rule, is inaccessible to the devotee and not meant to be seen.

central small building on the top, the High Temple, remains which is the crown of the monument (Fig. g).

The theme of the pyramid as represented by the Vaikunṭha Perumal temple comprises the entire Vimāna. It is logically carried out from the bottom to the top. In the wholeness of its conception this type of the temple, pyramidal in the vertical section, corresponds to the curvilinear type where the buttresses of the ground floor are extended and carried up all along the curved superstructure (Type II). The same constructural wholeness is seen here though with different units of form.

These first structural temples of the Pallavas subsume ancient types of sacred architecture to a comprehensive conception of the Prāsāda. The several original destinations and forms of their constituent parts can still be distinguished. They are the central 'cube' or prism of walls, the rampart of chapels and the 'High Temple', the latter forming the crown of the temple.

In later structural temples (Fig. h) but also in earlier Pallava monuments (Fig. f), preserved in rock cut examples, the entire pyramidal temple is placed as pyramidal superstructure on top of the prism or cube of the perpendicular walls of the ground floor (samsthāna). They encompass the (main) Garbhagrha of which the superstructure (I B. 1-3) consists of storeys (bhūmi).

In the rock-cut Dharmarāja (Fig. f) and Arjuna Rathas in Mamallapuram the total pyramid of this collective type of sanctuary is raised on the high perpendicular walls and pillars of the ground floor. But not only in these rock-cut Pallava monuments is this type (I B. 1-3) of the superstructure condensed into a monument without an internal space; in the structural temples of the Cola age and subsequently it is cut off from the interior of the Garbhagrha by the flat ceiling of the latter. The Vaikunṭha Perumal temple, however, with its Garbhagrhas in the centre of each of its four stories, reveals the original purpose of accommodating a sanctuary in each storey of the pyramidal superstructure to the same extent as does the outer shell of this Prāsāda, from the ground level to its 'High Temple'.¹ As a rule however and seen from the outside the consolidated

1. Its section in perspective and ground plan are given by P. Brown, op. cit. Pl. LIV.

trunk of the pyramidal superstructure simulates only a Garbhagrha in each of its storeys (Fig. h).

The paradox is obvious in the history of this type of the superstructure of the temple. The hypaethral temple with nothing in the centre or near to nothing is here amalgamated with a monumental structure in its centre. It towers in each storey above its surrounding enclosure with its many small shrines.

The existence of the Centre, however, whether marked or not, in the hypaethral temple had prompted its enclosure and the demarcation of its perimeter. Not by chance is the number of the Yoginīs and their chapels 64 or, providing for accessory images, 81. They are related in number to the squares of the Vāstumaṇḍala. The central position corresponding to the Brahmasthāna is marked, in Rānipur Jhoriā, by the central image in a pavilion; towards the Centre moreover face the chapels and the images of the Yoginīs in each of these hypaethral sanctuaries.

The superstructure, produced by a transfer and elevation of the pyramidal temple, each of its storeys surrounded by an enclosure or rampart of chapels on the cube or prism of the supporting walls, does not result from a single operation; the paradox of the hypaethral temple, attaining its maximum height by means of a monument in its centre, however, is not the only one in the history of the pyramidal superstructure of South India.

Further paradoxical developments accompany the evolution of this type of the superstructure. The surrounding chapels, it has been pointed out of the groundfloor of the Kailāsanāth Temple at Kāñcīpuram, were attached to the body of the building and drawn into the outer walls of the temple circumambulatory.¹ Similarly, from the Cola age onward, the parapet of chapels on each floor of the superstructure is attached to its walls; the open air circumambulatory itself a vestigial part of the hypaethral temple, is pressed out of existence. The enclosure of cells is now an embellishment of the wall of each Bhūmi, a sculptural part of the monument (Fig. h).²

1. This temple and also the rock cut Kailāsanāth Temple in Elura are Śāndhara Prāsādas, the inner ambulatory intervening between the outer wall in which are 'embodied' (the chapels, and the inner wall of the Garbhagrha.

2. The Dharmarāja Batha in Mamallapuram though but a small model of a temple, carved out of the rock, (total height 40') however provides a passage in each of the 3 storeys of its superstructure wide enough for walking around the central part of the monument (Fig. i).

After the Cola age, moreover, in the course of time, a devolution approximates the total appearance of the central temple to one of its initial forms, such as is exemplified by type 1B.2 consisting of the domed High Temple on top of the perpendicular walls of the Garbhagṛha.

The fully evolved pyramidal superstructure having attained its perfect form and greatest height (190 feet) about the year 1000 A. D. in the Bṛhadiśvara, the 'Great Temple' in Tanjore (Fig. h), loses it in the following periods in proportion to the increasing height of the gate towers, the Gopuras of its enclosure walls. Taken as whole, the South Indian temple irrespective of the flat roofs of its extensive pillared halls, in the centuries of its greatest expansion (Temple of Śrīraṅgam, 13th-18th century; the temple of Tiruvannamalai, Cola period and later) is a hypaethral temple, an open air sacred enclosure, with high walls, be they as many as seven, marked in the four directions by Gopuras whose height decreases towards the centre, where the main temple is marked by its position. Its presence is inconspicuous, its diminutive superstructure barely noticeable as it emerges from the flat roof of a covered court. With its many subservient buildings immersed in the air space and fenced off by repeated high walls and their Gopuras, the total South Indian temple-town covers the ground marked in the four directions by the sequence of the Gopuras of successive walls, within the outermost enclosing wall. The shrinkage of the superstructure of the centre, the diminution of the height of the main temple is a paradox of which the meaning is adjusted by relating it to the enclosure (paridhi, prākāra) and its architectural form, the hypaethral temple. Between the beginning and the end of this development lies the formation of the superstructure of the South Indian temple, a pyramid of many stories each with its enclosing parapet of chapels and crowned by a small High Temple (Vimāna).¹

The devolution of the South Indian Prāsāda, the shrinkage of its height in comparison with the Gopuras, the gate towers of the

1. The whole development outlined above was that of the large temples only. The small shrines (alpa-prāsāda) in South India remained in their constituent parts the same as they are carved in the Gaṅgāvatarapa relief in Mamallapuram (see note 2, p. 195) and similar also to temples like the Śiva temple at Enadi. The parapet of cells was not embodied in their form. The main Garbhagṛha below, and the shape of the High Temple above, were united through their proportionate measurement and sculptural elaboration.

surrounding walls, whose height increases with their distance from the temple in their centre, appears a paradoxical development, but it may be understood as a return to type. Few representations and no structural examples of this type are preserved. The representations are of an early age and from central and northern India, from Barhut and Mathurā. A high structure is seen there ; it encloses and encases a small building which is the main temple.¹ The central sanctuary surrounded by structures larger than itself shows here the principle of the Garbhagṛha extended to the building that holds it. The small central temple with the image in the Garbhagṛha is the Sanctum Sanctorum comparable in its position to the "Throne of Supreme Blessedness".

This vision is akin to that of the city of Brahman ('Chāndogya Upaniṣad', VIII. 1. 1), wherein is a small centre, a dwelling, in which is a small space.

1. Coomaraswamy, *HIA*, Figs. 42 and 70. Similarly also is the Āmalaka enclosed in a casket shape, on pillars in Bodhi, Kāli and Nāsiḥ.

REVIEWS

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI BY SIR JOHN MARSHALL, ALFRED FOUCHER
AND N. G. MAZUMDAR

It is not an uncommon failing to regard human endeavour, not in the light of what it has achieved, but in what it has failed to achieve, in other words in its negative rather than in its positive aspect. Such is the view that is often taken in contemplating what has been attained by research in the sphere of culture in India ; not what has been done, but what has been left undone, is often the despairing cry of those who are striving against the current of apathy in an effort to bring life into the study of India's ancient heritage. The contribution that this country has made to the sum total of the world's scholarship and culture, its treasury of wisdom as shown in its literature, its beauty as shown in its painting and sculpture, and its aesthetic and constructional knowledge as displayed in its architecture, are now recognized and have been studied and encouraged by many able scholars and research workers. But within recent years there has been a tendency to pause, a sign of a slackening off in the direction of expert investigation into the rich field of the past, the mental interest has been continued in the form of an abstract affinity with India's great historical achievements, but a real and practical intellectual understanding has not been consistently maintained.

Such a criticism applies especially to the subject of archaeology, which after being given a strong impetus by the late Lord Curzon, who, as Viceroy, at the beginning of this century, reorganized and placed the Archaeological Survey on a firm footing, but the functions of this important Department have now, from a variety of causes, become stagnated. Particularly does this apply to the sphere of exploration and excavation, great work has been done as the revelations at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro bear eloquent testimony, but such undertakings only serve to emphasize the fact that only the outer fringe of this form of investigation has been touched, and at the present time owing to a lack of support and direction it has almost entirely ceased.

One slight consolation however emerges, for it has been shown that the history of excavation in India reveals that in far too many instances this work has been voluntarily undertaken by enthusiastic but often

unscientific persons who explored sites largely out of curiosity, or in search of hidden treasure. Proceedings of this nature have often done incalculable damage, and destroyed evidences, data, and material which might have been of considerable historical and artistic value. Unless prospective sites are dealt with by those trained in such work, it is far better that they should be left undisturbed until the task of uncovering them can be entrusted to those specially qualified for this duty. It is a pious hope therefore that in the near future a staff of skilled operators will be formed by whom the exploration of the numerous historical sites well known in the country may be scientifically investigated.

With this record of a somewhat unsatisfactory state of affairs thus presented, it is nevertheless refreshing to be able to refer to one outstanding and substantial work of great archaeological significance which has been recently produced. This is the publication by Sir John Marshall, late Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India, of his magnificent series of volumes on "The Monuments of Sanchi", that remarkable range of Buddhist architectural remains situated in Bhopal State, Central India. Issued under the auspices of the Government of India, and in "Memory of Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jehan Begam Sahiba, Late Ruler of Bhopal" these volumes are a model of scholarship, technical production, and format as a whole. The bulk of the text is the work of Sir John Marshall, aided by that erudite scholar Dr. Foucher, while the inscriptions have been "edited, translated, and annotated by Dr. N. G. Majumdar". It is a matter for regret that while the book was being prepared the brilliant career of the last named was tragically ended by a gangster's bullet when engaged on exploration duty in Sindh.

In his preface Sir John Marshall states that the purpose of the volumes "is to supply a complete and fully illustrated description of the famous group of Buddhist monuments at Sanchi, which have now been known to the world for more than a century, but of which only brief and inadequate accounts have, as yet, been published". And how thoroughly this purpose has been fulfilled is proved by the high character of this production in all its aspects. The entire work has been most logically resolved into four parts. Part one has been compiled by Sir John Marshall himself, and deals with "The Monuments", first with their history, then with their individual position on the site, passing, in Chapter III, to an analytical review of "The Great Stupa and Pillar of Asoka". Chapter IV is taken up with an account of the other Stupas, Pillars and Shrines on the Main Terrace, subsequently treating with the remains on the Southern Area. Then follows a description of the Eastern Area, concluding with a detailed reference to the "Second Stupa", and the structures in the neighbourhood.

In Part II, the same learned author presents us with a careful and systematic statement regarding the "Art of Sanchi" from the Pre-historic and Mauryan phases, through all the various periods represented, together

with full details relating to problems of the foreign influences, ending with a technical description of the tools and processes employed. This brilliant series of essays is marked by the character of profound research and meticulous study revealed in each page, every part simply yet effectively expressed and put into language which can not only be readily understood but appreciated by every class of reader. In previous publications by this author one has become accustomed to the direct yet easy style in which these are written, but in this instance he has surpassed himself in the sensitive flow of his description, each sentence conveying only one meaning, the one intended, and each replete with information and knowledge. Gradually and graphically the story is told, beginning with that portentous decision made by Bimbisara, King of Magadha, when, while entertaining the Buddha he "cast around for some spot that would make an agreeable retreat for the Blessed One and his followers" thus founding this sacred shrine which, through periods of fervent veneration, alternating with devastating vicissitudes, still stands as one of the most artistic and interesting monuments in the whole of India.

Part three of this work consists of Dr. Foucher's interpretation of the vast number of sculptured scenes which decorate the gateways and other parts of the monuments. In this we are presented with a complete and vivid account of the entire Buddhist story, pleasingly and connectedly composed, retaining the readers interest from beginning to end. And apart from this absorbing interest, it represents an intricate study of a subject in which this savant is an acknowledged master. Here is detailed in the form of a picturesque narrative all that is known of the life of the Great Teacher and all that is associated with this aspect of the Cult. The thread of the story is maintained throughout, comprising a fascinating series of pictures, enabling one to visualize the conditions that prevailed in India two thousand years ago. The comparisons and cross references, the result of this scholar's research make this part of the work of inestimable historical value.

In the note on the identification of the elephant and his mahout issuing from the stable, Dr. Foucher states that the roof of the building has been elevated to enable the animal to pass through. On the contrary the stable here depicted is an ordinary erection of the period built on the principle of most structures in early times with a common triangular gable roof, as will be seen at Ajanta and elsewhere.

Also in identifying one scene as that of the "horse-headed" fairy although supporting this story with considerable literary evidence, the actual figure seems to represent some female with the head distorted into a horse-shape owing to abrasion. Moreover the child referred to as a Bodhisattva, and carried on her hip, is obviously a female. But such criticisms are trivial when compared with the immense amount of research which this part of the work has involved.

Of the Inscriptions which are contained in Part four, these have been subjected to the discerning eye and wide knowledge of the late Dr. Majumdar, who has interpreted them with the same quality of skill and care that marks the remainder of this production. No detail has been omitted in translating these voices from the past that will throw light on their meaning or origin, and when it is realized that these inscriptions number several hundreds the magnitude of this scholar's task may be imagined.

But perhaps the most appealing portion of this monumental study, consists of the magnificent illustrations which are contained in Volumes 2 and 3. In their technical aspect alone the reproduction of these is beyond praise, and the photographs themselves have been most carefully prepared, as the lighting and operational work plainly testify. No more complete pictorial survey of any historical monument can have been made, and the student and the artist cannot be too grateful for the store house of sculpture thus presented. Were every part is so finished, it is almost ungracious to ask for more, but one example of carving is of such a high standard that for a full page illustration of this every sculptor would be grateful. This is the medallion on the ground balustrade of Stupa 2, the subject being entitled "Water Sports", and evidently the workmanship of the master craftsman of his time. For pleasing composition and plastic quality this particular relief can have few equals.

Further, one may note that in several of the gateways there are plain stones, inserted because the carved originals are missing. One of these 'dies' or cubical part of the structure between the cross-beams, is known to be in the Leitner collection of the Ethnographical Museum in Berlin, and there may be others. Perhaps when the re-distribution, to their proper locations, of the art possessions acquired by the Nazis is taken up, the question as to whether this should be restored to its original position, and thus make the interpretation of this particular story complete, may be considered.

Percy Brown

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE (BUDDHIST AND HINDU) BY PERCY BROWN

D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., Bombay ; Pages 210 and 118 Plates

Fergusson in his 'History of Indian and Eastern Architecture' laid down the lines of an approach to Indian architecture whose object is a description and classification of the monuments according to regional schools and historical developments. Since the last edition of Fergusson's work in 1910, new material has become known. Mr. Percy Brown deals with it judiciously in the 32 chapters of his book 'Indian Architecture'. They are enlivened by 'conjectural reconstructions' and diagrammatic

drawings in addition to reproductions from photographs and give a lucid survey of Indian architecture from the days of the Indus Civilisation, prior to the "Buddhist and Hindu Periods", to late phases of the latter, such as are represented not only in South India, but also in Bengal and Brindaban of the 16th and 17th centuries (chapters 26 and 32).

In this vast field of buildings, the author appraises each type and style and discriminates their particular features in detailed and observant descriptions. Chapters 21-26 are specially important. They deal with the Northern style in its regional forms and show the significance of this type of mediaeval temples in the history of Indian architecture ; no distorting views are allowed to enter into the balanced narrative.

The theory and science of Indian architecture, *Vāstuśāstra*, known and practised by the Indian architects, are deliberately left untouched. The Corpus of preserved monuments, of buildings represented in ancient reliefs and of the results of excavations, form the solid substance of Mr. Percy Brown's book. It is a compact work, indispensable and invaluable to every student of the 'types and styles of Indian religious architecture'.

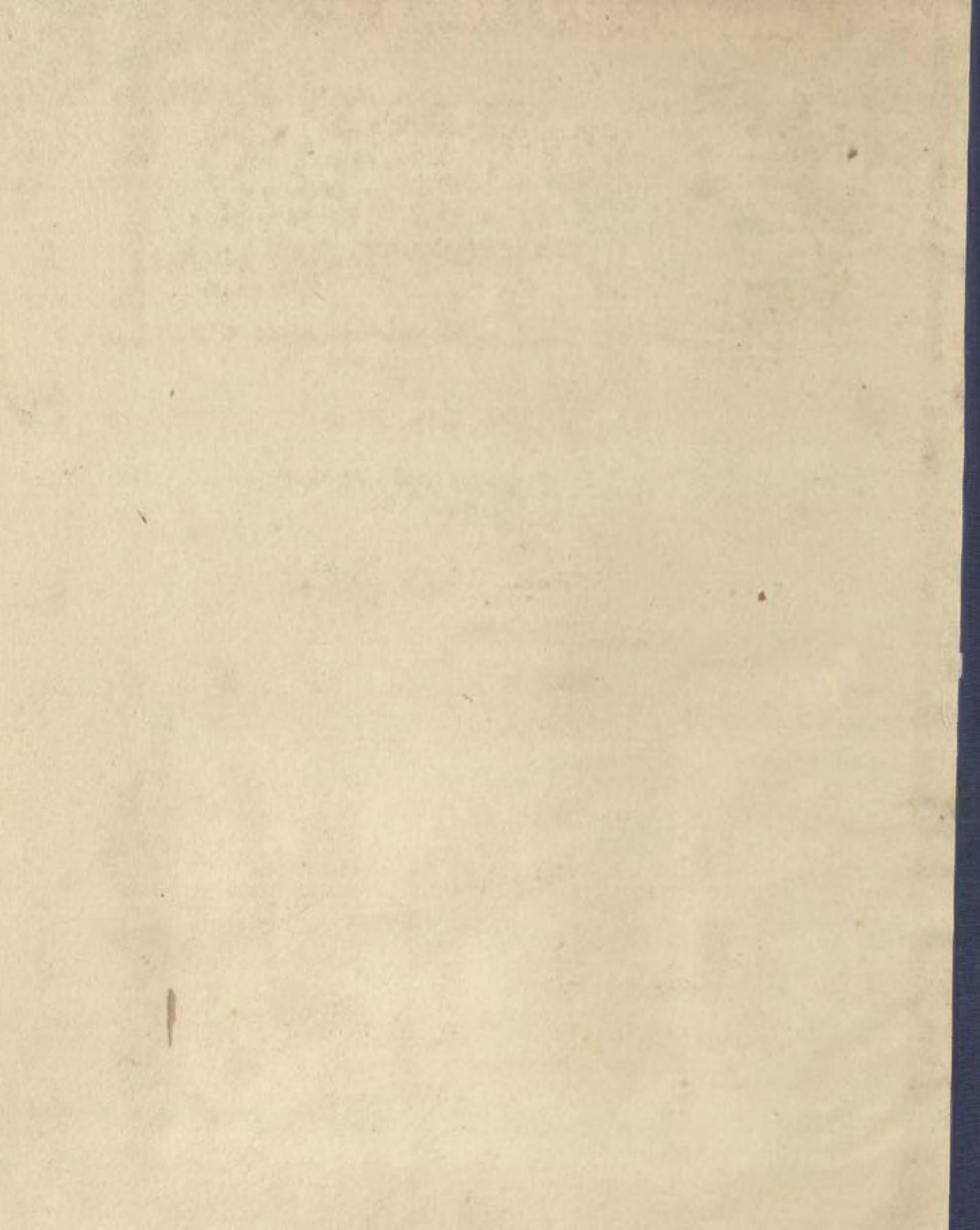
The following drawings are specially instructive : Pl. VIII : "Types of early Capitals" from c. 250 B. C. to the fifth century A. D. ; Pl. IX : Figs. 1-6 showing various shapes and uses of the *Āmalaka*, a symbol which is relevantly, though all too briefly, discussed on pp. 13-14, and the conjectural reconstructions and diagrams on Pls. III, VI, X, 2, XLIII and LIV.

In this large and comprehensive work—its text is too closely printed—the author fully achieves what he has set out to do. It would serve no purpose to draw attention to the few errors and omissions, which, no doubt, a second edition will avoid.

A study of this text-book will qualify the student for an understanding of Indian religious architecture on lines which though not followed, are envisaged by the author. Thus in the course of a concise chapter on the "Evolution of the Temple" (pp. 72-77), Mr. Percy Brown says : "It should be realised that in all works of art, and particularly in the temple architecture of the country, in the mind of the Indian people, the religious, philosophical and metaphysical qualities of the production take first place, the artistic character being regarded as secondary..... It is from this standpoint that the architecture of India should be viewed, and from this direction approached". Factual knowledge of the monuments is the basis of this standpoint and Mr. Percy Brown has built it firmly.

St. Kramrisch





67

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